MID-AMERICA
An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XX
(New Series, Vol. IX)
1938

PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

General
Wahr

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XX

ARTICLES

PUEBLO FOUNDING IN EARLY MEXICO. *Catherine M. McShane* . 3

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE MARQUETTE TERCENTENARY. *Arthur J. O'Dea* 15

MARQUETTE'S TITLES TO FAME. *Gilbert J. Garraghan* 30

WILLIAM HOWLETT, PIONEER MISSIONARY AND HISTORIAN. *Thomas F. O'Connor* 37, 103

THE CHRONICLE OF PEREZ DE RIBAS. *Jerome V. Jacobsen* . . 81

DONATO GASPARRI, NEW MEXICO-COLORADO MISSION FOUNDER. *Edward R. Vollmar* 96

FATHER BAEGERT AND HIS NACHRICHTEN. *Ursula Schaefer* . . 151

THE FIRST ENGLISH-SPEAKING PARISH IN ILLINOIS. *W. B. Faherty* 164

I. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE OKLAHOMA FRONTIER. *Sister Ursula Thomas* 170

II. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE OKLAHOMA FRONTIER; A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. *Sister Ursula Thomas* 186

FATHER PFEFFERKORN AND HIS DESCRIPTION OF SONORA. *Theodore E. Treutlein* 229

SAMUEL CHARLES MAZZUCHELLI, DOMINICAN OF THE FRONTIER. *Gilbert J. Garraghan* 253

JESUIT ANNUAL LETTERS IN THE BANCROFT LIBRARY. *Peter M. Dunne* 263

DOCUMENTS

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY JOURNEY ACROSS THE PLAINS TO SANTA FE. *J. Manuel Espinosa* 51

THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS AT LA JUNTA DE LOS RIOS. *Reginald C. Reindorp* 107

THE DIARY OF JAMES M. DOYLE. *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 273

NOTES AND COMMENT 63, 132, 208, 284

BOOK REVIEWS 70, 140, 214, 293

CONTRIBUTORS 78, 148, 226, 300

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY, 1938

VOLUME 20 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 9 NUMBER 1

Pueblo Founding in Early Mexico

In the year 1521, after the conquest of the Aztecs, Spain began to construct another Spain on the continent of North America. New Spain was part of the gradually extending colonial empire of the mother country, but at the same time it came to share many of the ancient institutions of Old Spain. In the course of time, with a newly built and growing capital in Mexico City and with the arrival of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, New Spain bore some likeness to a kingdom in itself. During the first fifty years of its development, society in New Spain had taken its ultimate colonial form, and political, administrative, economic, cultural, and religious programs which were to endure throughout the colonial epoch were well rounded out. The new realm had even its wild frontiers to the north. From the capital and from the organized areas and cities around it, trails led into the northwest; these became traveled roads. Mines were opened, and the frontier was extended and occupied, so that before the end of the sixteenth century other great areas beyond New Spain had assumed form under the names of Nuevo León to the north and along the Gulf of Mexico, Nueva Galicia in the northwest, and beyond this in the far northwest of that time, Nueva Vizcaya.

This construction and advance of empire was made by stages. It was accomplished in the face of great obstacles. The men who made it successful worked together and they were invariably of the vigorous type, captains of Spanish soldiery, captains of the mining industry, captains of religious missionary forces. Each contributed toward the organization and development of the new society of the frontier amid personal hardships and dangers. A great number of the mining men died in poverty, and many of the missionaries suffered an actual martyrdom or one of charity in the process of organization, but the progress continued.

The consideration in this paper is of one highly important item in the Spanish program and advance, namely, the gathering

of native Indians into villages and their reduction to civilized life. This fundamental procedure of concentration was one of long standing and it was undertaken sometimes by the Spanish officials and sometimes by the missionaries, but more frequently by the combined efforts of the two. A notable instance of the procedure in operation among the mountains of the wild frontier of New Spain comes to hand. In this instance missionaries played a great part. That the padres of the early mission days led a strenuous life may not readily be doubted by those who read accounts of labors similar to those of Santarén.

To settle one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four persons in ten pueblos, baptize two hundred and eighty-two, and perform thirty marriages, besides checking up on twelve hundred other persons scattered in rancherías, is a rather fair amount of work to have finished in five weeks time. Considering the nature of the land and the type of persons so gathered into pueblos, one might term it a notable result. Yet this is the record of Father Hernando de Santarén, S. J., aided by Captain Diego de Avila for the periods of the last few days of February and nearly the whole month of December of the year 1600. The account of this journey to the northern lands and of the subsequent labor of checking and organization was written by Martín Duarte, the secretary of the expedition, and is published in full detail in the *Documentos para la Historia de México.*[1] The report gives a vivid picture of the labor of pueblo founding in seventeenth-century Mexico. Santarén, as leader of the missionary forces, likewise wrote a description shortly afterwards of the land and customs of the people, for the information of the provincial of the Jesuit Province of New Spain, Father Ildefonso de Castro, and this was published by the Jesuit historian Father Alegre.[2]

The achievements of the missionaries may perhaps be better appreciated if a cursory glance is cast at the country in which the foundation was made. The Topia-San Andrés mining district lies high in the Sierra Madre mountains, that great range of Mexico's west coast whose austere beauty defies description as its rocks have defied modern engineering skill. It is not one

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[1] *Documentos para la Historia de México,* Mexico, 1853-1857, Serie IV, Tomo IV, 173-267; this is the Testimonio Jurídico de las Poblaciones y conversiones de los serranos Acaches, hechas por el Capitan Diego de Avila y el venerable padre Hernando de Santarén por el año 1600.

[2] Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* Mexico, 1841, I, 394-407. For convenience this Santarén relation will be cited in the following pages according to its page place in Alegre.

range but a series of parallel ridges reaching in Chihuahua a width of three hundred miles and stretching fifteen hundred miles southeast to Guadalajara. Extremely high and rugged in the north, on the lower Pacific coast the mountains break into a network of gorges thousands of feet in depth. The terrifying beauty of Urique is paralleled farther south in the *quebrada* country of Durango. There the well-watered slopes are covered with dense forests of poplars, oaks, maples, pines, and close tangled brushwood, which make them almost impenetrable. The torrents cutting into the mountain side, the wide, dusty stretches of the mesas, the weird cries of the forest animals only add to the savage grandeur.[3] Extremes of temperature as well as of scenery are met with in these canyons. In less than two days one may pass from six feet of snow on the summits, down through corn and bean fields on the plateaux, and on to the lowlands where zapote, cotton, chile, and all the plants of the hot countries are grown.[4]

Within these mountains lived the Acaxee Indians, each family gathered in a small, inaccessible ranchería.[5] They were an agricultural, semi-nomadic people of the Uti-Aztecan stock.[6] Remnants of the tribe now live in the "ex-partido" district of Tamazula, Durango.[7] Estimates give about twenty-five thousand Acaxee for the first years of the seventeenth century, about twelve thousand of whom were already in the charge of the Jesuit missionaries.[8] Much of this achievement was due to the efforts of Santarén who labored in this field for over sixteen years and sealed his work with a martyr's death in the Tepehuán Revolt of 1616.[9] His fame as a pueblo-founder is second only to his reputation as a missionary, as the Duarte account of one of his first tours of the mining country shows.

The Indians of this region ran wild amid the mountains and hid their *rancherías* high up on the sides of the gorges, where the white man could not follow. Their life was one of poverty and petty warfare, which was undertaken at times for primitive rea-

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[3] *Géographie Universelle,* Tome XIV; Maximilien Sorre, *Mexique et Amérique Centrale,* Paris, 1928, 36-38; Alegre, I, 394.

[4] Ralph L. Beals, *The Acaxee,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1933, 9; Alegre, I, 395.

[5] Alegre, I, 396.

[6] Beals, 3.

[7] *Ibid.,* 1.

[8] Carl Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of North-Western Mexico,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1935, 22.

[9] Peter M. Dunne, S. J., "The Tepehuán Revolt," MID-AMERICA, XVIII, 1936, 3-14, gives a survey of the temporary end of the work of Santarén, and of the end of his missionary career.

sons and at other times for no reason except the bellicose nature of the leaders. Santarén, in describing the methods of existence and the foodstuffs of the mountain peoples, notices the fish of the streams, the squirrels of different kinds, some as large as cats, the great abundance of fowls, the bees, and honey as white as snow. What amazed him was one woodpeckers' granary in an old pine tree that had been perforated with thousands of holes, each one containing an acorn.[10] Meat of animals and birds, *frijoles,* maize, the meal drinks of *atole* and *pinole,* are other mentionable foods, though it is not to be supposed that all of the items were partaken of at each repast. Lions were about and were killed, for part of the war accouterment was made from their hides. When on the warpath the Indians were armed and apparently were given to conducting themselves much after the approved fashion of our own Iroquois and Sioux. Had they always dwelt thus in the upper valleys and mountainsides, or had the coming of the Spaniards driven them from their old fields? At any rate in the year 1600 they were living in small, isolated groups, united by bonds of blood-relationship—wild, timid, barbarous. Missionary tours through this country had convinced the authorities that nothing permanent in the work of civilization and conversion could be achieved in such surroundings. The Indians must be brought down from the heights and settled in villages, where instruction in Christian living and Christian doctrine could be given them.

Difficulties of many kinds hindered the work. Often the Indians could not be found. When found many did not want to come, wary lest Spanish labor and possible enslavement might become their lot. They feared, above all, the loss of their idols and the vengeance of their gods. However, the gifts of the Spaniards and the promise of protection against their enemies prevailed over their fears, and the work was begun.

Nowhere in mission annals is the co-operative work of Church and State so well shown as in pueblo-founding. The captains accompanied the missionaries that the prestige of the State might confirm the authority of the padre. The record of Captain Hurdaide in the Sinaloa and Yaqui missions has a fainter but true echo in the missions within the Sierra Madres. It was to the San Andrés mining district that Captain Diego de Avila accompanied the padre Hernando de Santarén in the year in question.

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[10] Alegre, I, 395.

A citizen of Durango and an encomendero in his own right, as was also his brother Alonzo, Diego de Avila knew and understood the Indian character, and the Indian turned to him with confidence for help and protection even while he feared his just punishment. The commission issued to Avila by His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, Gasper de Zuñiga y Acevedo, gave him broad powers. He was charged to go as captain, pacifier, and judge to those parts of country where the Indians were best disposed to receive the instructions of the padres. There, in union with the priests, he was to gather them into pueblos, pacify, quiet, and protect them, and establish Christian order and discipline in the community.[11] To do this the Indians must be brought down to the plains where there was water and fertile land and the possibility of communication, indispensable for civilized life. Accordingly, messengers were sent scampering over the mountains bearing the captain's summons for all to gather at designated points to confer with him.

With such a primitive people example is more persuasive than argument. Therefore, as the runners bore their message to more distant tribes, the work was begun near at hand among the Indians of La Próspera, a mining camp about a league only from San Andrés. There were assembled the Indians of the *serranía,* who knew some Spanish and who could be counted upon to appreciate better the advantages of *congregación.* The example of the first pueblo would encourage the other more timid tribes to follow suit.

The procedure followed is typical of that used with each successive group. There was first a check-up on the numbers of those present. Were all there? If not, how many were missing? And why? The excuse of harvesting beans and corn rarely failed to account for the absence of those who feared the Spanish influence and the surrender of their wild, free life. Then the padre ordered a cross to be made and erected on a mound where all could see it, and he, the captain, and the other Spaniards prostrated before it. It is not difficult to picture the crowd of curious natives watching the ceremony with silent interest, nor their eagerness to imitate when the father, in their Acaxee tongue, called on them to do the same. At once they were part of the scene, willing to listen to the explanation of this wooden symbol and to learn to make the sign of the cross upon themselves. The

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[11] *Documentos,* Serie IV, T. IV, 174.

newly awakened interest was not left to cool in idleness. Possession having been taken of the spot in the name of the Lord Bishop of the Kingdom, the Indians were set to work building a temporary shelter, a *ramada,* into which all entered—padre, Spaniards, natives—for further instructions and repeated prayers. There was planning, also, for the future. Together they chose the site for the church, marking it off carefully. The Indians cleared the land of its thickets and long grasses, and cut timber for a hut. Later on there was to be a church of adobe, larger and more fitting for divine worship. But even now in its primitive form it was named, and Santa Ana de la Próspera was asked to be the patroness of the new village. The captain promised a picture and a bell, and gave one of his Christian Indians to serve as *temastián.*[12]

The Indians were not forgotten in the matter of agrarian organization. Groups were told to choose the land which best suited them for their homes, and to mark out the spot, so that there should be no cause for discord and rivalry in the future. The captain gave each Indian a grant for his land in the name of the king and the viceroy. Sections were reserved, also, for those who were missing, and all appeared happy and contented. A period of six weeks was set by the captain for the removal from the mountains to the new pueblo, with the threat of forced removal if the work were not finished in time.

Scattered through the *Testimonio* are delightful sidelights of human interest, which disclose the childlike, improvident nature of the native. There are requests for food, because the natives had not been able to bring as much as was needed and the supply was all gone.[13] The captain saves the situation, and perhaps the perseverance of the new recruits, by sending post-haste to the mining camp for supplies. At another time it is an order for axes to cut timber for the houses which had been ordered. There were lessons in politeness, also, that must have brought a smile to the faces of the bystanders. The Indians were taught to receive the padres in courtly fashion, to go out to welcome them, to kneel down to kiss their hands with reverence. There were promises of presents for those who worked on points of propriety. Knives, fish, salt, and materials for clothes for themselves and their wives could be won. As all these suggestions were well re-

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[12] The term *temastián* signifies a catechist or native instructor in Christian Doctrine.

[13] *Ibid.,* 177.

ceived, a further advance was made. Since exterior cleanliness was regarded as next to godliness by the padre, obvious steps had to be taken, for, judged by their exterior, the natives exhibited none of virtue's ways. Their hair was long and unkempt. Tactfully the hint was given that only women wore long hair. The men should follow the example of the Spaniards. Indians whose intelligence and training marked them for the offices of *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* were called up and their hair cut, in some cases even by the captain himself "with his own hands and scissors."[14]

In the appointment of officers a certain distinction is noticeable in the powers of priest and soldier and an evident increase of authority on the part of the captain. In the first journey, in February, the natives of San Diego asked at once for rods of such offices as *alcaldes, alguaciles,* and *fiscales.* The captain replied that the appointment to the first two offices belonged to the governor and his ministers. He could only ask that the favor be granted. Later on, in December, he seems to have been given the power of appointment, for, at each foundation made, *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* were immediately named. From the first, however, the missionaries appointed both *temastián* and *fiscal* to office. The cleverer Indians were naturally selected for these positions. Some, who proved most trustworthy and zealous, were sent, at times, to stir up enthusiasm for the work among the other tribes, or, more often still, to search out the idols hidden in the rancherías.

This idol-worship was the chief obstacle to the work of *congregación.* The Indians persisted in the practice long after open profession of Christianity had been made. In several instances, blame for the misconduct is laid directly on one or two Indians, who were brought before the captain when apprehended, and given six lashes. One of the first conditions set for the new converts was that they give up their idols. Usually threats sufficed to make the idolaters produce them, though pet idols were sometimes retained, hidden in corners and holes for secret worship. Only punishment could bring these to light.

The idols were of diverse size and appearance. One collection consisted of "seventeen packages of stone pieces, some of tortoise shell, others in the shape of birds, dolls, and among these was a little white jaw bone, like that of a child which it is cus-

[14] *Ibid.,* 193.

tomary to carve and paint as stone. In like manner there were big shin bones and bones of human beings."[15]

Sometimes the idols were adorned with pieces of home-spun string, tied about the neck as a necklace. These images were thought to be gods of the water, wind, corn, sowings, sickness, and many other things, and parting with them meant a struggle for many a poor native. One instance in which grace won a signal victory is that of Andrés, who came to the fathers at San Pedro y San Pablo on December 11. He had a story that was worth telling, and the careful secretary of the expedition, Martín Duarte, does not let us miss it. This god is described as having

> really and truly a man's face, eyes, nose, mouth, head, and beard. This [idol] Andrés had acquired many years before in this manner. Going into a hill near this pueblo he heard voices as of many persons crying, and they said: "Are you asleep? What are you doing?" Andrés had replied: "I am not asleep." And looking in the direction of the voices, he saw a large form moving away which gave two other cries. As soon as he was assured of its reality, it ran away and disappeared, as it were, into the ground. When he came up to see where and how it had disappeared, he found only this head with eyes, nose, mouth, beard, and neck. This head said to him: "Look, I am god, and I give you permission not to fast, but you will eat deer, and give me always corn and tomales; this is my food." Andrés took it to his house and ordinarily gave it many tomales and much corn, which the idol had eaten and praised many times. Lastly this very night, when Andrés went to take the idol to bring it to the captain and father (as a result of their exhortations) it had spoken to him in his language and said: "I am not the devil, for which reason you bring me to the captain and the father. What have they given you for which you surrender me? Have they given you corn? Have they supported you? This year your house is full of corn and many other things which I have given you." To which Andrés replied that he had to take him. At which the idol wept and appeared very sad. . . . In the morning the idol spoke again: "You take me to die in the power of the father and the captain and these Christians who are in their company. Well, look. My heart goes with my father. We shall see what these Christians will give you."[16]

Mere surrender of idols was not sufficient; they must be completely destroyed. For this purpose a large bonfire was built in the public square, and in the presence of all the Indians the false gods were burnt and "reduced to ashes." The larger ones had first been broken up by the Spaniards.

> The captain and father broke the idols to pieces with their own hands having given great blows with them against the other stones with much

[15] *Ibid.*, 199.
[16] *Ibid.*, 206-207.

spiritual consolation, and giving many thanks to Our Lord for the fruit which would be drawn from this journey, pacification, and conversion.[17]

On one occasion when the Spaniards were thus vigorously destroying stone idols, a very aged woman came out of one of the houses of the ranchería. She spoke angrily to them of the vengeance of the gods thus insulted, who would certainly now send the Xiximees to kill the Acaxee Indians. This fear of the hostile Xiximee south of them seems to have been very real and potent among the Acaxee. Protection against them was one of the most efficacious inducements for the *congregación,* and the promise had to be reiterated with emphasis to save the situation.

Another plea for protection, which came to the captain several times in the course of this expedition, had in view an intervention with the minor Spanish officials whose exercise of authority was excessive. One official mentioned in this regard is the magistrate of San Andrés. Avila deferred intervention here in order to avoid the scandal of conflict of authority among the Spaniards. The decision was reserved for the higher authority of the governor. Another such complaint came to the captain one night at eleven-thirty. The Indians of Ocatitlán came to complain "that just after the captain and the fathers had left, Domingo de Tapia (the lieutenant) had entered into the pueblo, molested them, and ordered many things which had not been commanded them." Here was an offense manifestly within his jurisdiction, and the captain, though ill at the time, acted promptly. In spite of the late hour, his devoted secretary was sent to the pueblo to prove to the people that the captain's promise of justice and protection could be trusted. The lieutenant, brought before the captain that same night, was given to understand the necessity of justice and fairness in dealing with the natives.

Though abuses from such minor officials seemed inevitable, measures were taken to guard the Indians from the encroachments of the Spaniards. Early in December an order was issued forbidding anyone "to go to the settlements of the Acaxee Indians or to any one of their houses, without the express order of the captain's lieutenant, who is Gaspar de Tapia, under penalty, for a Spaniard one hundred pesos of common gold, for an Indian two hundred lashes."[18] This order was signed by the captain and proclaimed close to the church door by the voice of Nicolás Ignacio.

[17] *Ibid.*, 199.
[18] *Ibid.*, 202.

The captain used every means in his power to win the Indians to the new life; threats and punishments were employed only against those who influenced others to persist in idolatry or sinful ways. The vanity of the Indians was humored. Their assumption of Spanish names and titles was respected. The better disposed among them were immediately made aids in the great work. The following incident gives an insight into the captain's tactics. Don Juan, a likely Indian, had been duly instructed, baptized, and married by Father Hernando de Santarén, and appointed *fiscal* and *temastián* of the village of Don Pedro. His influence was growing, and the captain believed in encouraging a good work begun. Before leaving the village he called Don Juan aside for a private interview telling him how much he and the father trusted, loved, and counted on him, and what good he had done and was doing. To show his appreciation the captain wanted to give him a suitable present; he had already given him clothes. Don Juan must have a horse of his own, on which he could ride as privileged as a Spaniard. This was the tenth of December. On Christmas Day he must came to the captain's ranch and choose a horse for himself; he will have just the one he wants. In the meantime he must encourage the other Indians in the work of settlement, telling them that the captain promises them favors, and help and protection against their enemies. He must persuade them to give up their idols and their evil ways and come to the instructions.

Though some Indians opposed the removal to the pueblos, others begged for the privilege as soon as the prosperity and happiness of the settled regions became known. Delegations were sent to speak of their desires to the captain[19] and a date was fixed for their settlement. A striking instance of earnestness in this respect was that of Agustinillo. This chief had brought his people from their rancherías in the heights and had settled in the lower valley, waiting for the coming of the captain and the padres. Eight or nine months were spent there, and some houses were built, but the captain did not come that way. In the meantime, word of the settlement reached the captain, Alonzo Jaramillo, magistrate of San Andrés. Evidently his permission for the settlement had not been asked; at any rate he was displeased. Agustinillo was seized and beaten, but still he waited, hoping against hope for the coming of the padres. At length the Indians felt that they must retire, so they burnt the little village begun

[19] *Ibid.*, 186.

with such hope and climbed again to their old rancherías. Then came the captain's summons and word of his approach. Was the delay a test of the sincerity of their desire of conversion? If so, it had done its work. Agustinillo obeyed the call promptly. Again his people descended the mountain and began to build, so that when the father and captain arrived the Indians could point with commendable pride to "three or four finished houses and many others begun." They had even begun work on a house in which the missionaries might live when they came to instruct them. They made one condition, a justifiable one it would seem, that the captain would not allow the magistrate of San Andrés "to do them harm, separate, or disturb them, and in return they would obey the father and captain in all things, as they had done in former times."

This mention of former times implies a previous instruction in Christianity, probably during the missionary tours made in this country in the last years of the sixteenth century. Agustinillo's people were not the only ones who had met the missionaries. Other groups of Indians were found who had been taught the prayers in Latin, "a Latin," the secretary adds, "so badly pronounced that in all the four prayers they do not pronounce two words well."[20] "They say 'Pater noster quiet in celis, etc.' "[21] Therefore they rejoiced at receiving a missionary who could speak their own tongue and they begged the father to come to their pueblos that they may know what they ought to believe, and who God is, where He is, and the benefits which they have received from Him.[22]

It may be enlightening to follow the missionaries in a typical day's work—that of December 14 at San Diego. There one hundred and sixty-three Indians had gathered, some from distant parts, for instruction. Baptism and the other sacraments were administered with appropriate advice for each group. Then came the formal ceremony of taking possession of the town in the name of the new bishop, and of the governor, followed by another speech. Rebellious Indians were summoned before the captain and punished. While the captain chose *alcaldes* and *alguaciles,* and encouraged the people to plant trees, raise chickens, etc., Father Santarén appointed a *temastián* and fiscal and entered the records in the books. There were hair-cuttings, land was chosen and allotted, and further instructions were given. Indians

[20] *Ibid.,* 251.
[21] *Ibid.,* 248.
[22] *Ibid.*

coming in late were instructed, baptized, and married, with "love, charity, and patience."

About three in the afternoon, the entire party was setting out for San Martín, a distance of more than five leagues, when reports of relapses into idolatry came to worry them. On the way some Indians, whom they were bringing to San Martín for settlement, deserted, "going secretly into the *quebrada*." When the captain discovered the deception, a council was held on the spot. He was eager to pursue and bring back the delinquents; but, "after each one had given his opinion," it was decided to ignore the trickery and wait, hoping to win these people back at a next visit, for they were not yet docile and friendly.

It was an hour after sunset when the travelers arrived at San Martín, but there, also, "many people were waiting at the door of the church." If they had the temptation to slip around another way, they resisted it manfully. Both the father and the captain embraced the people and thanked them for their punctuality in coming. Then the secretary adds laconically—"the father taught the doctrina many times." The captain, meanwhile, was busy issuing orders of protection and appointment.

The final record of the expedition shows ten villages founded. In each of these towns, tribes from several rancherías were gathered. The site chosen was close to the highway running from Culiacán to San Andrés. The advantages of the trade with the passersby were kept before the natives. They were told that they would draw profits from it, with which they could buy new clothes for themselves and for their wives. They could learn the Spanish ways. They would have protection against their enemies. These advantages were obvious, but to the captain the chief advantage of the settlement lay in its position on a well-traveled road. This situation would be a factor in the destruction of idolatry. There life would be lived with the European close at hand, and it would not be so easy to slip away to the old haunts and carry on the ancient feasts and revels. Pagan idols once destroyed must not be set up again. A new environment, new occupations, new profits, and unwonted ease were to be had in the pueblos.

If the difficult time of settlement could be passed successfully, Christianity might yet flourish among these people. This was the basic cause of the settlements, the great work on which priest and soldier alike were set. If this were achieved, the labor and suffering would not have been in vain.

CATHERINE M. McSHANE

The Observance of the Marquette Tercentenary

The Celebration in France

Jacques Marquette, the sixth child of the marriage of Nicholas Marquette[1] and Rose de la Salle, was born in the historic city of Laon, France, on Monday, June 1, 1637. His birthplace on Champ Saint-Martin, later the Free School for Girls of the Community of Marquette Sisters, founded by his sister, Françoise, unfortunately disappeared during the last century, but stood on the present site of the houses numbered 3-8 of the new Rue Marcelin Berthelot.[2] The citizenry of modern Laon, aware of his achievements, and wishing to pay tribute to one of her greatest sons, were the first to plan exercises to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the birth of Father Marquette. Senator Rillart de Verneuil expressed the tercentenary sentiment of Laon in these words:

> The boast of Laon has been that of being one of the first free communes in history, of having stood over a long period as the second capital of the Kings of France, and of having served as the cradle of many sovereigns, of having erected in the thirteenth century a cathedral which possessed the most beautiful towers in the world. . . . All these souvenirs, one might say, linked Laon with a glorious past. Through Marquette she is bound to the future since the lands where he instilled civilization as well as the faith, are in the full flower of their vigorous and fecund youth.[3]

A group in Laon, including six great-grandnephews of Father Marquette, took the initiative by organizing a committee in France to mark this tercentenary with a monument in his natal city. The Laon committee was international in scope, including among its patrons and honorary members, the French hierarchy, high officials of the French Government, members of the French Academy, the United States Ambassador, the Canadian Minister, and leading French, Canadian, and American historians. A prospectus bearing the names of the fifty-seven members of the honorary committee and twenty-three members of the active

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[1] Genealogy of Father Marquette, Archives, St. Mary's College, Montreal.

[2] *Jacques Marquette et L'Inauguration de son Monument à Laon*, published by Tablettes d'Aisne, Laon, 1937.

[3] *The New World*, Volume XLV, No. 20, May 14, 1937.

committee, describing the project with a picture of the proposed monument by the sculptor Jean Topin, was circularized in France, the United States, and Canada.

On learning of the Marquette Tercentenary plans in France, a group of American laymen,[4] in November, 1936, immediately made inquiry to ascertain whether similar exercises were being planned in the United States. After diligent inquiry disclosed that no plans were being made to observe the event in America, the group circularized American schools, colleges, learned societies, and leaders among the clergy and laity, to encourage national and local celebrations of the event. A most favorable response promised a complete American observance of the event; it was apparent no central or national committee would be required to assure success. Very Reverend Michael J. Ready, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senator from Wisconsin, made plans for a national observance; Marquette University, the city of Marquette, Michigan, the city of Ludington, Michigan, and the city of Chicago, ever conscious of Marquette's contribution to America, planned civic and religious exercises; writers, editors, and teachers agreed to mark the tercentenary in their respective fields.

The Celebration in France

The French Mission, organized by the Franco-American Committee to observe the 250th anniversary of the death of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and the tercentenary of the birth of Marquette, opened the celebration of the Marquette Tercentenary in France, as the commission sailed from Le Havre on March 11, 1937, to visit the regions and places in the United States associated with Father Marquette and La Salle. Among the members were Andrew Chevrillon of the French Academy; Louis Marlio of the Academy of Moral Sciences; General Perrière of the Academy of Sciences; Fortuna Strowski of the Institute and delegate of the University of Paris; President Laurent of the Paris Municipal Council; Madame Marcelle Tinayre, novelist; Prince and Princess Achille Murat, and Gabriel Louis Jaray, organizer of the mission. This group was augmented by the Canadian group. They arrived at New Orleans and traveled up the Mississippi to Chicago. After a visit to Quebec, they were received by the Mayor of New York City and thence departed for France. While the French

[4] Associated with the Loyola House of Retreats, Morristown, N. J.

Mission was in the United States, *L'Illustration* issued a special France-America number[5] commemorating the tercentenary with feature articles on Marquette, prints of old seventeenth-century maps of North America, and splendid illustrations, including cuts of both sides of the Marquette Tercentenary Medal issued by the Paris mint. The face of the medal bears the bearded profile of Marquette circumscribed with the inscription "Jacques Marquette, 1637-1937." The following appears on the reverse side:

"1637—1937
Tri-Centenaire—de Jacques Marquette
Missionnaire et explorateur
Francais—né à Laon
Explorateur de l'Amérique—du Nord
Le Wisconsin—le Mississipi—le Missouri—l'Ohio
l'Illinois—le Saint-Laurent"

The Laon Exercises

The old glory of Laon was awakened on Sunday, June 13, 1937, and the entire day was passed paying homage to the revered son of Laon who conquered the American wilderness in deed and in faith. His father, Nicholas Marquette, had espoused the cause of Henry of Navarre with so much ardor that he was banished from Laon only to return honored and with added wealth and powers when Henry became king. Like his father, Jacques Marquette surrendered the world at Laon for the King of Kings and returned in spirit triumphant on June 13 to a place beside the immortals of the proud and ancient city.

The exercises of the day opened with the celebration of Solemn High Mass in Laon's famed cathedral within the sound of whose bells the boy Jacques was born thirty decades ago. The celebrant was M. l'abbé Pierre Barbier, Director of the Seminary at Soissons, and great-grandnephew of Father Marquette. Seated in the sanctuary, which was draped with the French, American, and Papal flags, were distinguished members of the hierarchy of France, Adélard Dugré, S. J., delegate of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Bernard Leib, Provincial of the Society of Jesus of Champagne, A. de Parvillez, S. J., Pastor of Notre Dame of Liesse, the priests of Laon, and the members of the Marquette family. The parish choir sang a special Mass in four parts composed by the Jesuits

[5] *L'Illustration* No. 4910, April 10, 1937, Paris, France.

at Metz. The vast cathedral was filled for the occasion. Father Dugré preached the sermon on Marquette, pointing to the material hardships overcome by Marquette and Jolliet in their trek through the American forests, as evidence that their success was a conquest by spiritual power.

The City Hall, adorned with French and American flags, was the place of assembly for a parade accompanying the guests of the day to the scene of the unveiling of the monument. Led by the Mayor and Municipal Council, the autos bearing the guests were followed by the civic, historic, and learned societies of Laon, and those of neighboring towns. With bands, banners, and regimental colors of the French armies of the ancient past, soldiers of past campaigns, boy scouts, military, athletic, and civic societies, the parade marched along the street where Jacques Marquette was born, to the Square de la Porte de Soissons, where the monument stands in full view of the Soissons national highway. In the presence of the Marquette family, representatives of France and United States, the French hierarchy, and the Society of Jesus, after the playing of the "Marseillaise" and the "Star Spangled Banner," a flight of pigeons was released, and as they rose in flight, Senator Rillart de Verneuil presented the monument to the city of Laon.

While the Senator spoke, Mr. Charles Westercamp placed at the base of the monument a nugget of copper from Lake Superior mines and gave to the Mayor a coffer of blessed soil taken from the place where Marquette died. The nugget was sent by Mme. Paul of Marquette, Michigan, and the soil was sent by the citizens of Ludington, Michigan. Mr. Westercamp then poured over the base of the monument water taken from the Mississippi at the place where Marquette first sighted the Father of Waters at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The Mississippi water was sent by the students and professors of Marquette University as a token of American appreciation to the citizens of Laon. There had also been superimposed on either sides of the plaque, slabs of granite from the Marquette, Michigan, quarries, bearing the coat of arms of France and the Indian emblem of the Morning Star. These tokens were sent by the citizens of Chicago. The nugget of copper, chest of sand, and water cask, with papers attesting their origins, were sealed in the corner stone of the monument.

At the conclusion of the Senator's presentation address, Mr. Charles Westercamp, French Secretary of the Laon Committee, unveiled France's first monument to Father Marquette.

Set on a base of five granite steps against a background of twin granite shafts, a bronze plaque portrays in unbearded profile the full length figure of the young Jesuit explorer-priest. Bronze was cast from old sous given by the citizens of Laon and pennies sent by the school children of Marquette, Michigan. Flanking Marquette in the lower background is Louis Jolliet kneeling in the prow of a canoe, and an American Indian seated in the same canoe. On the base of the plaque is inscribed:

A
JACQUES MARQUETTE
Grand Missionnaire
Pionnier de la Civilisation
Né à Laon le 1 Juin 1637
Mort au Canada, 16 Mai 1675
Ses compatriotes—Ses admirateurs
Que le Soleil est beau, français,
Quand tu nous viens visiter.
HIAWATHA

In accepting the statue the Mayor of Laon closed his address with these expressive words:

In greeting Mr. Murphy, representative of the Ambassador of the United States, and Mr. Kidder, delegate from Marquette, who have honored this ceremony by their presence, I wish to express to them publicly how appreciative we are of this veneration which their countrymen manifest towards Marquette.

We like to see in this one more proof of the friendship which unites our two great democratic republics, one more attestation of a common bond which seems the best guarantee of international peace.

We pride ourselves on the fact that this local celebration is a reflection of Franco-American feeling and our greatest hope is that it will tend to link more closely the bonds of friendship which unite these two great nations.

Mr. H. H. Kidder of Marquette, Michigan, representing the American city named after the favored son of Laon, was then introduced and in his address described the new statue:

His self-reliance and calm serenity are reflected in the features and the entire mien of this fine statue, which is, I believe, a true likeness and clear interpretation of his expression. This calmness is in striking contrast to the severe labors, hard sufferings and inevitable end of his mission. His courage and gaiety under trials, his intelligence, his noble simplicity and his sacrifice inspired by a burning faith, in a word his consecration to a high ideal, create in us and leave in us an imperishable memory.

It is in this precious memory that we hold so dear in common with our

friends of Laon, that our Mayor appointed me to bear the salutations of our young city to your ancient city, the birthplace of Father Marquette.

M. Gabriel Hanotaux, member of the French Academy, then reviewed the exploits of Father Marquette in a learned and scholarly address. Mr. Robert Murphy, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris and graduate of Marquette University, then spoke as the representative of the United States and Marquette University. The Honorable François de Tessan, Under-Secretary of State, addressed the assemblage on behalf of the President of France, saying in part: "It is the spirit of love and of peace transmitted by the French pioneers to the New World and by their American successors, which must inspire and fortify us in our hope and in our desire for universal international peace." With the singing of the hymn "France" by the choral Union, the exercises of dedication of the first monument to Father Marquette in France were closed.

A banquet followed, attended by the honored guests and celebrants. After dinner, Honorable Jean Latour, Prefect of the Aisne, spoke on American good will evoked by the Marquette tercentenary; Mr. Charles Westercamp, as Secretary of the Laon Committee and President of the Academic Society of Laon, which sponsored the project, then reviewed the work of the Committee, acknowledging the services and contributions of persons and organizations in France and the United States, emphasizing particularly the good will created between the United States and France by Father Marquette. Mr. Westercamp closed with these laudatory words: "Glory to the son of Laon, Jacques Marquette, superb and sublime bond between our two countries." Toasts were then tendered by the Mayor of Laon, Under-Secretary of State de Tessan, and Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux of the French Academy. With a gala tercentenary concert in the evening, another great day became a part of Laon's historic past.

The National Celebration in the United States

The tercentenary of the birth of Père Marquette was officially observed in the United States by Public Resolution[6] of Congress and Proclamation[7] of the President of the United States, directing all Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on the first day of June, 1937, and inviting all people of the United States to observe that day

[6] Public Resolution No. 33, 75th Congress, First Session.
[7] Presidential Proclamation made May 27, 1937.

and the anniversary year in schools, churches, and other suitable places with appropriate ceremonies commemorating the tercentenary. The tribute of the Congress and of the President of the United States to Father Marquette, was the prelude to patriotic and religious commemorative exercises on the tercentenary day in the nation's capital and throughout the country where his memory is revered.

Sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, under the direction of the Very Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Ready, assisted by William F. Montavon, Esquire,[8] the Reverend Laurence J. Kelly, S. J.,[9] and Eugene J. Butler, Esquire,[10] national exercises in tribute to the zealous and fearless pioneer American explorer and missionary were conducted in Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol on Tuesday, June 1, 1937, at ten o'clock in the morning, before the Trentanove statue[11] of Marquette. The exercises opened with the invocation of the Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, and with the reading of the Proclamation of the President of the United States. Wreaths were placed at the base of the statue by young women of Trinity College and the National Catholic School of Social Science. There followed addresses by representatives of the Society of Jesus, representatives of Marquette's native land and the States of the Middle West, where he labored and died. Reverend Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., Vice-President of Georgetown University, representing the Society of Jesus, stressed these contributions of Marquette:

> His documents constitute one of the most important contributions to early Americana containing, as they do, comments on geography, topography, and ethnology, on the location of villages and settlements, on tides and tributary waterways, on the customs of the aborigines, on the nature of the vegetation, game and all animal life. He even includes some shrewd estimates concerning the possibilities of future commercial developments.

The Honorable Jules Henry, Minister Plenipotentiary, Counselor of the Embassy of France, said:

> On behalf of his native country, where he spent his youthful years preparing himself, through meditation and study, for the great tasks that awaited him across the ocean, let me acknowledge the signal honor which,

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[8] Director of the Legal Department of the N. C. W. C.
[9] Rector, St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D. C.
[10] Assistant to Mr. Montavon.
[11] Erected by the State of Wisconsin as the tribute of that state to Father Marquette in 1892. See John A. Brosnan, S. J., "Marquette in the Hall of Fame," *Jesuit Seminary News*, Vol. 12, No. 4, July-August, 1937.

in the impressive setting of the Capitol of the United States, is being extended to a beloved son of France.

The envoy then read the following message sent by the Honorable Yvon Delbos, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France:

The Government of the Republic and the French nation have learned with feelings of emotion and gratitude of the resolution passed by the Congress of the United States for the commemoration of the tercentenary of the birth of Father Marquette.

We are deeply moved by such a tribute being paid to the memory of a Frenchman who, through self-sacrifice and courage, devoted his whole life to the service of mankind. The discoveries of Marquette, nearly three centuries ago, have opened the first chapter of the history of French-American friendship. By commemorating now this anniversary, the American nation again testifies of its faithfulness and devotion to a common past, which France acknowledges and appreciates to its full value.

Honorable Prentiss M. Brown, United States Senator from Michigan, whose home at Saint Ignace is the place of Father Marquette's burial, told how his study of the *Jesuit Relations* led him to a deep appreciation of the achievements of Father Marquette, whose journeys he traced out carefully and studiously:

When one understands the background of the times and hardships and handicaps which Pere Marquette overcame, the accomplishments of the intrepid explorer and missionary are brought out in clear and bold relief. Marquette pressed steadily forward in his explorations and missionary work when he had every reason to believe that he was always marching forward toward almost certain death.

The Honorable Louis C. Rabaut, member of Congress from Michigan, paid tribute to the spiritual achievement of Father Marquette in these words:

I like to think of him as a missionary going from cabin to cabin bringing the word of God and resolving, because of diminished strength, to have a great meeting in the open. I like to picture him upon that Holy Thursday with the sachems gathered about him, and next in the circle the braves, and finally the whole population of the place, even to the children.

Others taking part in the exercises included Honorable Robert M. LaFollette and Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senators from Wisconsin, Representatives Mary T. Norton and Edward L. O'Neil of New Jersey, Representatives Raymond S. McKeough and Harry P. Beam of Illinois, Representative Albert J. Engel of Michigan, members of the Glee Club of Catholic University, who sang under the direction of Professor Leo Behrendt, and representatives of Marquette University. William F. Mon-

tavon presided over the exercises, which closed with a benediction by Very Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Ready, and the singing of the National Anthem by students of Georgetown University.

Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senator from Wisconsin, the state Marquette crossed on his way to discover the upper Mississippi,[12] took an active part in the national observance of the tercentenary. In advance of the tercentenary day, he notified the Clerk of the Senate of his intention to address the Senate on June 1, and shortly after the Senate convened at noon on that day, the Senator rose to laud the glories of a humble priest who entered the American wilderness one hundred years before the United States was conceived. Senator Duffy entered the Marquette Tercentenary Proclamation of President Roosevelt in the Congressional Record and thence delivered a praiseworthy address on Father Marquette.[13] In his opening remarks the Senator, citing Thwaites, cleared the confusion as to the date of Father Marquette's birth, authoritatively fixing June 1 as the natal day of the American pioneer and missionary.[14] He traced the early life and training of Marquette in France, his ambition for the foreign missions and final appointment to the Ottawa mission. Thence he traced the course of his missionary journeys with Louis Jolliet, across Wisconsin to the discovery of the Upper Mississippi. The address, now part of the official record of our nation, replete with accurate detail of the life and death of Father Marquette and his contributions to America, paid American homage to the holy and humble priest who died in our wilderness in search of souls. This record is one to which succeeding generations may turn and be edified.

The radio broadcast of the dramatization of the life of Father Marquette by the Friars of the Atonement from their studio at Graymoor, Garrison, New York, over the Ave Maria Hour, on Sunday, May 30, 1937 (Memorial Day), was also national in scope. There were two live broadcasts dramatizing the life of Father Marquette on this day, the first through radio station WLW of Cincinnati, Ohio, over a network covering the Mid West, the second through WMCA of New York City over the inter-city

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[12] At Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, June 17, 1673.

[13] *Congressional Record*, 75th Congress, First Session, Vol. 18, No. 103, page 6701.

[14] Senate Joint Resolution 139, 75th Congress, First Session, passed April 29, 1937, had erroneously provided for the tercentenary celebration on June 10, 1937. This error was corrected by House Joint Resolution 359 passed May 13 (calendar day May 19), 1937.

network reaching the Eastern and Middle Atlantic states from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. By electrical transcription the same broadcast was heard through 134 radio stations throughout the United States. Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, authority on Marquettiana, collaborated in the preparation of the script for the dramatization and acted as narrator on the program. Senor Alfredo Antonini, New York maestro, improvised a musical setting of Indian themes for the drama. Father Anselm Francis, Director of the Ave Maria Hour, planned and directed the broadcast as a patriotic and religious tribute to the Jesuit missionary and American explorer.

Local Exercises in the United States

Early in the Spring of 1937, Marquette University made plans for the observance of the tercentenary by organizing the Father Marquette Anniversary Committee of over two hundred honorary members, including the hierarchy of the Mid-West, the Governor of Wisconsin, the United States Senators and Representatives from Wisconsin, religious, clergy, and laity, including leaders from every walk of life, without regard to creed. Reverend Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J., of Marquette University, as chairman of the Executive Committee, was most active in support of the mid-western and national tercentenary exercises. On May 12, 1937, Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., President of Marquette University, presided at a convocation of students and faculty members in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of the namesake of the University. At the Marquette Tercentenary convocation of the University, honorary degrees were bestowed on Reverend Bernard R. Hubbard, S. J., "the glacier priest," Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, University of California historian, and Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Reverend William M. Magee, S. J., delivered the address of the occasion on "Marquette, Man of Ideals."

Ludington, Michigan, was the scene of simple services on May 30, when Marquette University sponsored a pilgrimage of students and faculty across Lake Michigan from Milwaukee to the cross-marked knoll overlooking Pere Marquette Lake. Services at the site included remarks by Very Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., Marquette University President. The historical importance of the pilgrimage was explained by Reverend Raphael

N. Hamilton, S. J., head of the University history department. Father Hamilton announced that an alumni fund had been started to erect a bronze cross in place of the wooden cross that now marks the site of the Xaverian death of Father Marquette. Water from the Mississippi was then sprinkled at the base of the cross, and a cask of sand from the site was presented by the Marquette Memorial Association of Ludington to be placed in the Marquette University archives. Wreaths were then laid at the base of the cross on behalf of the Marquette student body and the city of Ludington. C. Laurence Lind, of the Ludington Chamber of Commerce, was master of ceremonies. Solemn Mass was celebrated for the pilgrims by Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., at St. Simon's Church, Ludington.

Other tercentenary affairs on the Marquette University program included special services at the June Commencement, public addresses during the tercentenary year, radio sketches and a three-day civic pageant in which one thousand citizens of the city of Milwaukee participated on November 9, 10, and 11, 1937.[15] In a number of cities in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan commemorative exercises were held.

December 4 is annual Marquette Day in Chicago in commemoration of that day in 1674 when Marquette first set foot on Chicago soil. This year special ceremonies were arranged for June 1 by the Marquette Day Committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Joseph Burke, Judge of the Cook County Circuit Court. Governor Henry Horner issued a Proclamation designating June 1 as Père Jacques Marquette Day, as did Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago. A number of Consuls responded to the invitation of Judge Burke, signifying their intention to be present at one or both of the services: Tschou-kwong R. Kah, Consul-General of China; Robert Ross, Acting British Consul-General; Michael F. Girten, Austrian Consul-General; Rene Weiller, Consul-General for France; R. Baumann, Consul-General of Denmark; C. C. Caedren, Consul for Estonia; Richard E. Westbrook, Consul of the Republic of Liberia; F. Fontana, Royal Italian Consul-General; Nathal William MacChesney, Consul-General of Siam; Antonio L. Schmidt, Consul of Mexico; Feliciano Montenegro, Consul of Venezuela; P. Dauzvardis, Consul of Lithuania; John Vennema, Consul-General of the Netherlands;

[15] "The Restless Flame," depicting the "restless flame" that in different ages lured Greeks, Vikings, Spaniards and, in turn, Marquette, into unknown seas and lands.

G. Oldenburg, Consul for Sweden. Solemn Mass was celebrated at Holy Name Cathedral, attended by the Mayor, the City Council, members of the Consular Corps, and distinguished guests. Monsignor Morrison, pastor, celebrated the Mass, and Reverend William M. Magee, President of John Carroll University, preached the sermon. From the church the Committee and guests were escorted by the Black Horse troop to the northeast pylon of the Michigan Avenue bridge, where exercises were held in front of the bas-relief of Marquette. Honorable John P. McGoorty spoke on behalf of the Governor, and Representative Michael L. Igoe on behalf of the Federal government. A pageant of canoes depicting the landing of Marquette, added color to the exercises, which closed with a salute fired by a detachment from the United States Army and Navy, and the playing of the national anthems of France and the United States.

This, the tercentenary year, was the third year of the performance of the Marquette pageant by the city of Ludington, Michigan. Over four hundred characters unfolded the "Drama of the Northwest," centered on the achievements of Father Marquette, on the four evenings of August 5 to 8 at Oreole Field, Ludington. The pageant this year received the blessing of His Holiness Pope Pius XI who, in his message to Ludington, expressed his pleasure for "the honor which is being done to the memory of the glorious pioneer of Christian civilization in the New World." President Roosevelt joined in praise of Father Marquette in the following letter addressed to the "Marquette Tercentenary Edition" of the *Ludington Daily News:*

> It is indeed fitting that the Ludington Daily News should commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jacques Marquette, the intrepid explorer-missionary whose achievements make his place secure in history for all time to come. Valiant as well as versatile, he overcame hardships that would have discouraged a soul not fired with zeal for a spiritual ideal. When death finally ended his labors near the present site of your city, he could have had little realization of the enduring character of the foundations he had laid. And so with a clear historic perspective, we acclaim him, three hundred years after his birth, as one of those pioneers worthy of everlasting remembrance.

After the pageant was enacted each evening, flares illuminated Marquette's death site on the knoll across Lake Pere Marquette in full view from the city. Boxes of sand from the site were prepared, blessed, and sent to Laon, France, as well as to ten American cities for Marquette exercises at memorials, statues, and markers.

The tercentenary was celebrated at Auriesville, New York, at the Shrine of the North American Martyrs on Sunday, September 12, where Most Reverend Bernard J. Mahoney, D. D., Bishop of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, pontificated at Solemn Mass in the Coliseum. The Reverend John J. McGrath, S. J., preached a sermon on the virtues of Father Marquette, pointing out that from boyhood Father Marquette must have had a mind to be assigned to the missions at Auriesville, where the first Jesuit Martyrs of North America attained the palm.

Tuesday, June 1, was officially designated Marquette Day in the State of Wisconsin, by Proclamation of the Governor. At the Governor's suggestion, flags flew in every city of the State and many local exercises were held in honor of Marquette, of whom Governor LaFollette said, in his official proclamation:

> It is fitting on this tercentenary of Father Marquette's birth that we in Wisconsin should appropriately honor him and renew the great tradition that is part of our history, commemorate the work of this heroic messenger of Christianity to God's children in the wilderness, which was Wisconsin, and do honor to great qualities of high souled devotion to an ideal of duty, to personal sacrifice without stint for love of fellowman.

The literature of the tercentenary emphasized the need and value of an adequate biography of Father Marquette of the scholarly type. From scattered gleanings and recently discovered letters[16] of Father Marquette, a quantity of interesting and valuable literature was produced in the form of tercentenary tributes. *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*[17] published a Marquette Tercentenary number in May, with a full color cover depicting Marquette and Jolliet with their map of the Mississippi, in discussion with a group of Indians on the shore of the great river Mississippi. A colored frontispiece depicted the peaceful death of Marquette on the bare ground of the wilderness. This number also contains articles on Marquettiana by Reverend Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., of Detroit University, and Charles J. Mullally, S. J., the editor. The leading article in *The Catholic World*[18] for June was a tercentenary tribute to Father Jacques Marquette by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg. *Jesuit Missions* carried articles on Father Marquette and the tercentenary exercises, with pictures, one of the Trentanove statue in the Capitol at Washington.[19]

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[16] MID-AMERICA, Vol. 18, New Series Vol. 7, No. 1.
[17] *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, Vol. LXXII, No. 5, May, 1937.
[18] *The Catholic World*, Vol. CXLV, No. 867, June, 1937.
[19] *Jesuit Missions*, Vol. XI, No. 5, May, 1937, Vol. XI, No. 6, June, 1937.

The Catholic weekly *America* carried an article by Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., which concluded with these significant words:

> Venturesome explorer, ardent missionary, devout follower of Christ, Pere Marquette is on all counts a figure to inspire and uplift. May the memory of him with its grace, its charm, its call to the higher things of life continue to be what it is to-day, a cherished spiritual possession of our people.[20]

The America Press published a forty-eight page pamphlet, written as a brief life of Marquette by Father Garraghan,[21] when it was discovered that literature on the life of Father Marquette was lacking and that the few biographies that have been written are out of print. At the end of this concise biography may be found an excellent bibliography of Marquettiana.

On the tercentenary day, Marquette editorials appeared in many leading newspapers, notably the *New York Times,* the *New York American,* the *Washington Herald,* the *New York Herald Tribune,* and *New York Evening Sun.* The editorial in the *New York Times* opened with these significant sentences:

> The Church having canonized Pere Jogues and other missionary martyrs of the Saint Lawrence and the Mohawk Valleys, should be adding to the list the name of Pere Marquette, of what we now call the Middle West. He did not, as Jogues, come to a death by violence; but he faced like perils and looked death in the face more than once. Moreover he endured physical hardships and rigors in his missionary journeyings which only a man of stout purpose and pure heart could have borne. As it was he died when only 38 years old. . . . He deserves a day in our calendar of remembrance.

An editorial on Father Marquette in the *Boston Pilot,* June 26, 1937, closed in these words of tribute:

> On the tercentenary of his birth, the world honors the fearless adventurer, the discoverer. But the Catholic Church thinks of him first as a devoted great-hearted priest—a shining image of St. Paul.

Thus, the celebration was widely recognized as an historic event of civic and religious importance in the history of France and of the United States, with great significance to the world at large. The factors which contributed to this recognition have been reviewed, but the ultimate factor in the achievement of the tercentenary observance, the dominant note of the whole occasion,

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[20] *America,* Vol. LVII, No. 9, June 5, 1937.

[21] *Marquette, Ardent Missioner, Daring Explorer,* America Press, 53 Park Place, New York City.

and the touchstone of success, was the personal and spiritual charm of Father Marquette, whereby he lives in the hearts of his countrymen on both sides of the Atlantic, as warmly and effectively today as during his short life span of thirty-eight years, lived devotedly three hundred years ago.

ARTHUR J. O'DEA

Marquette's Titles to Fame

The nationwide honors paid to the memory of Father Jacques Marquette on the occasion of the tercentenary of his birth, June 1, 1937, make it opportune to discuss the question as to what after all are his titles to fame. Beyond all controversy his figure is fixed in the imagination, not to say the affections, of the American public. Interest in him is constantly on the rise. "His fame seems to wax as the decades succeed one another," a well-known authority in Mississippi Valley history has written of him. Obviously, there is no reason to suppose that this fame has no other basis on which to rest except myth, legend, mistaken views in history; it must rest on solid ground. Let us see what the nature of this ground really is. Marquette's titles to fame may be regarded as falling into two groups, those which he shares with Jolliet and those which are personal to himself.

Jolliet-Marquette Titles

(a) *The Canadian, Louis Jolliet, and the Frenchman, Father Jacques Marquette, were the first white men to explore the Mississippi River.* This they did in their historic expedition of 1673, which brought them along almost the entire length of the great waterway, from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas. The epoch-making character of the expedition is admitted on all hands. What invests it with unique significance is the circumstance that it gave the world its first particularized knowledge of America's most splendid valley, initiating at the same time a movement that led to the opening up and settlement of the same. The Spaniards, it is true, had beaten the Frenchmen to it by a wide margin of years in looking upon Mississippi waters; but their finding of them was sterile of result. "Except as a basis for subsequent territorial claims its [the Mississippi's] discovery by the Spaniards might as well never have occurred," wrote Frederick Austin Ogg, American historian of note. "The whole work of discovery had to be wrought anew nearly a century and a half later and by the efforts of a different people." A well-known Marquette authority, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, in her presidential address at the Lexington, Kentucky, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1930, was emphatic in her denial of the historical significance of the Spanish discovery of the Mississippi. More-

over, using the same words that occur in the inscription on the Marquette statue in the Capitol, Washington, she spoke of Jolliet and Marquette as having "discovered the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin." Scholars do not use words lightly; there must be warrant for the use of the term "discovered" in this connection. Plainly, it is a question whether there is any impropriety, verbal, logical, historical or of any other sort in applying the term "discoverer" to one who rediscovers, with ensuing practical results, land or water, a first discovery of which proved abortive as far as practical results were concerned and became, to all intents and purposes, lost to memory. The world has not thought so in the case of Columbus. It calls him the discoverer of America, though his finding of it was not an actual discovery, but a rediscovery, the Norsemen having preceded him by centuries in landing on American shores. But their discovery led to no permanent result and by common accord the name of discoverer of America has gone to Columbus. The parallelism in the case of Jolliet and Marquette is complete. Certainly it is irrational to allege that calling them discoverers of the Mississippi is a virtual denial of the Spanish discovery as it would be equally irrational to allege that calling Columbus discoverer of America carries with it a denial of the Norse discovery.

The present writer is accustomed to qualify the Mississippi as "the Upper" when designating Jolliet and Marquette as discoverers of that river. But scholars who prefer to omit the qualification know what they are doing and have an answer at hand for any one who calls their usage into question.

Let it be noted that Jolliet and Marquette have their place in history as having been the *effective,* the *virtual,* not the *actual,* the *technical* discoverers of the Mississippi.

(b) *Jolliet and Marquette were the actual discoverers of a whole series of western rivers,—the Missouri, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Chicago, probably the Wisconsin.* In the finding of these they were not preceded by other explorers as was the case in the Mississippi. The earliest appearance of these waterways in cartography is on the Jolliet and Marquette maps; the earliest particulars we possess about them are to be found in the accounts left by the same explorers. They may have been preceded in acquaintance with the Wisconsin by Radisson; but the case that can be made out for him is a doubtful one at the best. The Missouri, the Illinois, the Chicago offer no difficulty whatever, nor for that matter does the Ohio. Scholarly opinion never was fav-

orable to La Salle's claim to be the discoverer of the Ohio, and recent research has disposed of it altogether.

Jolliet and Marquette were therefore "discoverers" over and over again in the most exacting sense of the term. To suppose that, when they are qualified as such, reference is necessarily made to the Mississippi is illusory.

(c) *Jolliet and Marquette put the trans-Mississippi West on the map.* This is true even in a literal sense. The earliest appearance of the Missouri River in cartography is on the maps made by the two explorers. Moreover, their maps indicate by name many of the trans-Mississippi Indian tribes, as the Osage, the Kansas, the Omaha, the Missouri. Mention of these names, now part and parcel of American history, on the maps in question is the earliest on record. The world, therefore, made its first acquaintance with the American Great West through the cartographical and other records of Jolliet and Marquette. This distinction of theirs, hardly ever adverted to in the history books, is of itself enough to entitle them to a major place in the history of American exploration.

(d) *The history of America's second largest city, Chicago, begins with Jolliet and Marquette.* They discovered its site, September, 1673, discovering at the same time the famous Chicago portage or "carrying place," the physical factor which more than anything else in the material order made the growth of a great city at the mouth of the Chicago River inevitable. This narrow ribbon of land, its location now well within the city limits, linked up the two greatest watersheds of North America, those of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and made communication between the two for travel and trade a possibility. The history of Chicago in its beginnings and for long after is written around the Portage. To have been the first of white men to know and speak of this historic physical feature in written record is surely a title of the first order to the praise of posterity. Justly does Chicago cherish the memory of these two seventeenth-century explorers whose fascinating figures greet us on the very opening page of the city's history. A tablet set up by the Chicago Historical Society marks the location of the Chicago Portage, "the earliest factor in determining Chicago's commercial supremacy . . . discovered by Joliet and Marquette in 1673," as the inscription reads. Another tablet, this one set up by the Colonial Dames of America on a balustrade of the Michigan Avenue Bridge, is

"in honor of Louis Joliet and Pere Marquette, the first white men to pass through the Chicago River."

Marquette Titles

(a) *The narrative of the Mississippi expedition of 1673.* This is the only journal or detailed account of the famous expedition that has survived, the journal kept by Jolliet being no longer extant. Our main and practically only source of information on the subject has been the Marquette narrative and such no doubt will continue to be the case. That this is so has tended to obscure somewhat the part played in the expedition by Jolliet, as it has also tended to set Marquette's part in particular relief. But the document itself does not fail in the least to do justice to Jolliet as the leader of the expedition. The Marquette narrative is on all counts a most significant document and has long since taken high rank among the classics of early American travel.

According to Dr. Louise P. Kellogg (*Dictionary of American Biography,* x (1929), art. "Marquette"), that missionary's best monument is "the accounts he left of his Mississippi trip and of his last voyage on his way to his death in the wilderness."*

(b) *Marquette and his two voyageur attendants were the first known-by-name residents on Chicago soil.* He passed through the locality, his first visit, in September, 1673, but returned to it the following year. For four months he camped on the banks of the Chicago River at a spot now marked by the imposing Marquette Memorial erected by the municipality of Chicago at the north end of the South Damen Avenue bridge. Further, by an ordinance of the Chicago City Council, December 4 has been designated for annual commemoration as "Marquette Day," that being the date in 1674 on which he began his four months of residence on the city-site. While thus residing within the limits of the future metropolis, he penned the greater part of a journal, which is the earliest known document to originate in Chicagoland. Few documents could be more precious and one envies Montreal the possession of it. "Thus it came about," has written Dr. Quaife, "that our first account of life at Chicago pictures the

* For the evidence in support of the authenticity of the Mississippi narrative as Marquette's own, see G. J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D., *Thought* (New York), IV (June, 1929), 32-71; for a divergent view, see F. B. Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D., *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673* (Washington, D. C., 1928). It may be well to note here that Father Marquette's place in history is not conditioned by any theory one may hold as to the authorship of the narrative in question.

doings of a lonely priest passing the dreary winter in a rude hut, animated by a fiery zeal for the salvation of the savages he was seeking the while his physical frame was shaken with the pangs of a mortal disease. If plain living and high thinking be the ideal life, no locality ever launched its recorded career more auspiciously than did Chicago in the winter of 1674-1675."

(c) *Marquette was Chicago's first clergyman.* He was the first to say Mass there, which he did daily during the period December, 1674-March, 1675. Further, he there repeatedly administered the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist to his lay attendants. There, too, he "made a retreat," the earliest instance of this widespread Catholic practice on record in the history of the West. In fine, the story of the Catholic church in Chicago begins with his name.

(d) *Marquette inaugurated the missionary movement in the upper Mississippi Valley.* His Mission of the Immaculate Conception, opened by him in April, 1673, among the Kaskaskia Indians on the Illinois River, was the first of a remarkable series of missionary posts established by Catholic priests in the Mississippi Valley on behalf of the aborigines. In Marquette, ever since he lived, has been symbolized the missionary idea, the Church's divinely inspired effort to carry the light of the Gospel to those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. "Pere Marquette was one of those dauntless pioneers whose faith sustained them in the face of all obstacles. His explorations added to the sum of human knowledge. Whether sailing unchartered seas or blazing a way through unbroken wilderness to carry the Gospel to the Indians, all was done under the inspiration of the motto of the Society of Jesus: 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam' " (Franklin Delano Roosevelt). That the missionary spirit finds a recognized symbol in Father Marquette is known to everybody. When a Franciscan scholar wrote (1934) a biography of a worthy missionary-explorer of his order, he gave his book the title, "The Franciscan Père Marquette."

(e) *Marquette's engaging personality.* Something in the man over and above his merits as a missionary and explorer makes appeal to the public. "Over him through centuries," says Dr. Quaife, "hovers that indefinable quality which we call 'charm'; without it, one may win fame indeed, but not the love of mankind." It is a fact that people of all classes and creeds are drawn by some keenly felt attraction to the figure of Marquette; something about him has power to inspire peculiar reverence and

affection. At Ludington, Michigan, is annually staged a spectacular pageant, written and recited by the Right Reverend Robert Wilson Spencer, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church. The pageant is conceived by its promoters, so an official advertisement declares, as a tribute "to the memory of a great missionary, a brave explorer and a man." This last word, so James O'Donnell Bennett has commented, strikes the right note. As a man, Marquette is in truth a figure of unusual appeal. Such is our reaction to him and such also was the reaction to him of those who had the privilege of knowing him in life. The impression we get of him from contemporary records is that of a man of engaging human characteristics, who loved much and was loved much in return.

(f) *Marquette's reputation for holiness of life.* Those who lived and dealt with him are one in testifying to his more than ordinary virtues. The voyageurs who cared for him in his last illness felt that they had to do with a person the most striking characteristic of whom was holiness of life. Within two years of his death a fellow-worker in the missionary-field was seeking to become an "imitator," as he wrote, "of the virtues of that great man." The alleged miraculous favors obtained through his intercession, the popularity of his grave at St. Ignace as a place of prayer and pilgrimage for the devout, the one-time custom among sailors on the Great Lakes of invoking his aid, attest abundantly the reputation for holiness which he left behind. The *New York Times* in an editorial of June 1, 1937, expressed the earnest hope that the Catholic Church may some day canonize Father Marquette.

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Marquette's fame as a phenomenon of the contemporary American scene is an impressive thing. A catalogue of memorials in his honor compiled in 1930 reveals a long and imposing series of commemorative tokens of every sort. The series ranges in variety from stained-glass windows in Memorial Hall, Harvard University, to Wisconsin's official statue of the missionary in the Capitol at Washington, and from a United States postage-stamp in his honor (1898) to pageants depicting his significant career. The City Hall, Detroit, has its Marquette statue, the state capitol, Springfield, Illinois, its Marquette mural. Rivers, towns, counties, schools, skyscrapers, business concerns, even a railroad, bear his name. Millions of Americans cherish his memory and hold his name in reverence. The case for his reputation has been

succinctly put by Dr. Kellogg: "Of all the Jesuit missionaries in the West, Marquette is the most renowned, partly because of his early death, partly because of his sweet and saintly nature, partly because he and Jolliet were the first to follow the course of the Mississippi River, a journey made known to the world by the letters and maps of the explorers."

The Holy Father, Pius XI, President Roosevelt, Congress, governors of states, mayors of cities, and the National Catholic Welfare Council have recently commended Father Marquette as worthy of the highest honors that the American public can pay him. Obviously, that they have done so is an imposing recognition of the legitimacy of the place in the hall of fame which the verdict of public opinion has long since awarded to him.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

William Howlett, Pioneer Missionary and Historian

I. The Colorado Missions

On January 17, 1936, death removed a venerable figure from the ranks of the American priesthood. The passing of Father William J. Howlett, chaplain of the Loretto Mother House, Nerinx, Kentucky, rent the last of the living ties binding the priesthood of the American West to the old Saint Thomas Seminary, near Bardstown, Kentucky.[1] The last surviving priest-alumnus of this, the first ecclesiastical seminary established west of the Appalachian Mountains, it was Father Howlett's privilege in youth to sit at the feet of teachers who had imbibed the principles of ecclesiastical science and ascetical practice from no less learned and apostolic men than Flaget, first bishop of the frontier Kentucky diocese, and David, master of the spiritual life and pioneer promoter of ecclesiastical education in the western country.[2] In the vigor of manhood he took up the burdens of the ministry in the Rocky Mountain country under the direction of Bishop Machebeuf, whose contributions to religion on the frontier he was himself later to bring to the notice of the

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[1] St. Thomas Seminary was established by Bishop Flaget in 1811. On December 5 of the same year it was installed in a building on the Howard farm, at Poplar Neck, near Bardstown. A concise account of its beginnings will be found in a letter of its director, Father, afterwards Bishop, David, to the Sulpician Superior in Paris, Father Duclaux, June 27, 1814, quoted in part by Lloyd P. McDonald, S. S., *The Seminary Movement in the United States; Projects, Foundations and Early Development (1784-1833)*, Washington, 1927, 39-40. The most complete treatment of its history is Father Howlett's *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas' Seminary at Poplar Neck near Bardstown, Kentucky*, St. Louis, 1906.

Among the manuscripts left by Father Howlett two were found that have proved invaluable in the preparation of this study, namely, "Recollections of my life, and Reflections on times and events during it," and "History of the Diocese of Denver." The first is now deposited in the Archives of the Loretto Mother House, Nerinx, Kentucky, and the second in the Archives of the Diocese of Denver. In the present article the first will be cited as *Recollections*, and the second as *History*.

[2] The most extensive history of the Church in Kentucky is B. J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, a work which, despite its shortcomings, remains an invaluable source of early Kentucky Catholic history. The story of pioneer beginnings has recently been set forth in scholarly detail in Sister Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier (1785-1812)*, Washington, 1936. The manifold activities of Bishop David are related in Sister Columba Fox, *The Life of Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David, 1761-1841*, New York, 1925.

reading public.[3] If an apology be needed for treating, in a review of this nature, of the life and activities of one so recently deceased, it may be found in this unique combination of circumstances of time and place which enabled Father Howlett to tie up in his lifetime the strands of tradition linking the Church of the early nineteenth-century frontier of the trans-Allegheny country with the establishment and development of Catholic life in the Rocky Mountain mining frontier of the mid-century.

Born in Monroe County, New York, March 6, 1847, William Howlett lived as a child by the banks of the Erie Canal, then an important highway, as it had already been for nearly a quarter of a century, to the abundant and cheap lands of the West. Among his boyhood memories was one of watching the funeral train of Henry Clay going past his home along the recently completed railroad now known as the New York Central. At the age of six he moved with his parents to Michigan, traveling from Monroe County to Buffalo by canal boat, from Buffalo to Detroit by lake steamer, and thence by rail to Cass County, in southern Michigan.

This portion of Michigan had not yet passed fully out of the pioneer stage, and served William Howlett well as an introduction to life on the Colorado frontier. The nearby town of Bertrand had only recently ceased to be the site of the Indian mission founded in 1830 by the celebrated Kentucky missionary, Father Stephen Theodore Badin. A few Catholic Potowatomie still lingered in the vicinity of Silver Creek. A few miles distant the University of Notre Dame had been established about a decade before by the Congregation of the Holy Cross.[4] It was a member of this Congregation, Father Cointet, who was the first priest to visit the Howletts in their new home during the winter of 1853. It was while living in Michigan that William made the acquaintance of such zealous pioneer priests of the Old Northwest as

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[3] William J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.*, Pueblo, Colorado, 1908.

[4] A scholarly account of the work of Father Badin and of Catholic beginnings in this region is contained in William McNamara, C. S. C., *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier (1791-1844)*, Washington, 1931. See also M. J. Walsh, C. S. C., "Beginnings of Notre Dame," *Historical Records and Studies*, XI (December, 1917), 15-30; *Ibid.*, "Notre Dame, Antecedents and Development," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (January, 1922), 270-277; and Thomas McAvoy, C. S. C., "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History*, May, 1933. An excellent study of Father Badin is that by Father Howlett, "The Very Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin," *Historical Records and Studies*, IX (June, 1916), 101-146.

Father Cointet, C. S. C., and Father John De Neve.[5] It was during these years too, in all probability, that there began his interest in Notre Dame and his admiration for the Fathers of the Holy Cross.

Little more than a decade, however, spanned the residence of the Howletts in Michigan. Gold had in the meanwhile been discovered at the base of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. One of the older boys of the family had gone to Colorado in 1860, and two others had followed two years later. When one of these sons returned to Michigan for a visit, the father decided to move on to Colorado and effect the reunion of his family. Three married sons and their families decided to migrate together with their parents. Disposing of their surplus household goods, they began the long trek westward. Towards the close of his life Father Howlett penned a brief account of this journey.

We had six wagons all covered with canvas in the style of the old emigrant wagons, and in them all necessary articles for traveling. The wagons served also as sleeping quarters for the women while the men and boys slept under them with blankets, quilts and buffalo robes, or sometimes in barns and sheds when available, but not a house did we sleep in for eight weeks. A couple of sheet-iron stoves were used for baking such bread as could be made by travelers, and the rest of the cooking was done by campfire.

Our route lay through Northern Indiana, where a belated coldsnap caught us near Valparaiso. Through Illinois we passed through Joliet, La Salle, Ottawa, Galesburg and on to the Mississippi river at Burlington. Through Illinois the roads were hub deep with mud owing to the spring rains and the thawing of the ground after the winter's frost. The rivers were high, and at Burlington we had to go five miles below the town to find a landing where the ferryboat could find a place to reach us to take us across the river. In Iowa both the weather and the roads were better, and after crossing the Iowa river at Farmington we found ourselves entering upon wide stretches of virgin prairie crossed by streams fringed with bands of timber of little density or extension on either side. Prairie chickens were abundant but no large game. We crossed the counties bordering on Missouri, and the principal towns we met with were the legal capitals of each county. There was much of a sameness about the scenery and the land seemed to be fertile and offered a fine opportunity for settlers. Yet we met with very few inhabitants and few travelers. . . . We might have stopped and settled on sections of that fine soil, but the land now was no temptation to my father; his destination was farther on . . . his thoughts were with his children. . . .

We reached the Missouri river about the middle of May and crossed

[5] Father De Neve subsequently served as rector (1860-1891) of the American College, Louvain. See J. Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College, 1857-1907*, Louvain, 1909.

over it on a ferry to Nebraska City in Nebraska. This and Omaha, Leavenworth, St. Joseph and Kansas City were the principal points where emigrants fitted themselves out for this long journey to western points, even to the Pacific. We found horses, mules and oxen there in hundreds, and tents and wagons were in every vacant lot and far out into the country. A few Indians of the Pawnee tribe were among the crowds, but that tribe was practically civilized and had its reservation not far away.[6]

The Howlett party remained at Nebraska City about a week in order to rest the horses and to purchase what was necessary for the remainder of the trip.

When we left Nebraska City our next objective point was Fort Kearney, about 200 miles further west on the Platte river. The country was wild and uninhabited almost all the way; the only settlement of consequence consisted of just a few houses which they said was Lincoln, the Capital of the Territory. We passed many teams of oxen and mules in groups, some bound for Pike's Peak like ourselves, others for California and Oregon. There were quite a few streams of water and we had no difficulty in finding good places for camping at night where wood, water and grass were plentiful. A couple of years previously the Indians had made raids on travelers along these roads, and graves were visible of the victims along the Little and Big Blue rivers, and at several other places. No Indians were supposed to be in those parts then, so everyone took his own time and traveled as he pleased. . . .[7]

Fort Kearney was at this time the western outpost of safe travel, beyond which no emigrant party was allowed to proceed unless it numbered at least forty men of fighting age.[8] The Howlett party remained here a few days, awaiting the arrival of other parties to make up this required minimum. While waiting, they saw something of life on the plains in the 'sixties.

The big stagecoaches came in from both directions almost daily, but to and from this point the western coaches were accompanied by a detachment of cavalry for the protection of the mails, and incidentally of the passengers. The Indians were shy of the soldiers and I did not hear of any attacks being made on the coaches under guard. I do not think there were any permanent settlers at Fort Kearney, but there were traders who were selling spirits and limited supplies that might be needed by those passing. I saw there the first exhibition of public gambling then so common in the West.[9]

After a few days a California-bound party came along, and the Howletts pushed on with it. Their route now lay up the Platte

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[6] *Recollections*, 24-25.

[7] *Ibid.*, 25-26.

[8] Fort Kearney, 310 miles from Fort Leavenworth, was the first fort built in pursuance of the Act of Congress of 1846, allowing the War Department to establish military posts along the route to Oregon.

[9] *Recollections*, 26.

by the south bank. Near the site of the present Julesburg, Colorado, they separated from the California party, and took the bank to the South Platte. At Fort Morgan they left the South Platte to follow what was known as the "Cutoff" to Denver. Sometime about June 12 they camped for the last time on the journey, at what is now known as Capital Hill, Denver.[10]

By the time of the arrival of the Howletts in Colorado in the summer of 1865, the two settlements of Aurora and Denver, facing each other across Cherry Creek, had been consolidated under the name of the latter town. Denver was already on its way to becoming the metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country. Virtually all classes were represented in its population, and the institutions of urban life were already well established.

The church building in Denver in 1865 was

> a brick structure 30 x 46 in size, and the Very Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf and the Rev. John B. Raverdy lived in a few rooms of wooden construction behind it. They attended Denver and many of the mining camps in the mountains, besides seeking out and saying mass for a number of settlers who were attempting to farm along the creeks in the valleys or raise live stock for the markets. The first Sunday I attended mass Father Machebeuf was the celebrant, and while he was preaching I was thinking that he was the oldest man I had ever seen. Yet he was only fifty-three, but he was so weather-beaten from exposure in missionary work that he looked as if he might be eighty. I lost that impression when I came to know him better. His youthful spirit changed all that and in appearance he did not seem to me to be a day older when he died twenty-four years later.[11]

The Howletts had arrived in Denver in June, and the father, whose object in moving to Colorado had been to be near the rest of his family, died the following September. The family then went to live on a farm owned by Father Machebeuf and located some eight miles west of Denver. Father Machebeuf had a private chapel in the farmhouse and would sometimes spend a day or two there. It was there, apparently, that William first spoke to the priest about going to a seminary. In the latter part of 1866 Father Machebeuf asked him to take charge of the boys' school which he had opened in Denver. While teaching, William began the study of Latin with Father John Faure, who was stationed at the Denver church.

Meanwhile William had definitely decided that he wanted to be a priest. Father Francis Chambige, a friend of Father Machebeuf from his home province in France, was then president of

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[10] *Ibid.*, 26-29.
[11] *Ibid.*, 30.

Saint Thomas Seminary, and it was there that Father Machebeuf decided to send him. On December 12, 1867, he left Denver for Hays City, Kansas, the western terminus of the Kansas and Pacific Railroad, which was then in course of construction. On January 8, 1868, he arrived at St. Thomas Seminary, Kentucky.[12]

This was William Howlett's introduction to the Kentucky which he came to know and love so well, and to the pioneer western seminary, the history and traditions of which he was later to snatch from a fast encircling oblivion.

> St. Thomas was not impressive in its looks, but it did impressive work. . . . Humble it was, but when we think of the early missionaries it prepared for the work of planting the faith as it was so deeply planted in Kentucky, we think of universities, of scholars and saints. Flaget, David, Badin, Nerinckx and the pioneers brought their faith with them, but the new generation had to be taught if the old faith were to be preserved, and St. Thomas became the spring from which the life-giving and life preserving waters flowed which made the Tree of the Cross grow in the forests of Kentucky and spread its branches through East and West. Need I name Abell, Durbin, Aud, Elliott, Coomes, Elder, Byrne and other devoted missionaries who went out from St. Thomas in its early years to spend their lives on horseback seeking out and bringing faith and grace to many who otherwise never would have known either? And the hundreds of later years, some of whom became leaders in Israel, such as Bishop Reynolds of Charleston, Richter of Grand Rapids, Byrne of Nashville, Alerding of Fort Wayne, Lenihan of Cheyenne, Tierney of Hartford, Ryan of Alton, and Lavaille and O'Donaghue of Louisville? Of the priests they were scattered from Massachusetts to the western borders of our civilization, and the rank and file of the clergy of Kentucky ever came from its doors.[13]

A year and a half was spent at this historic institution when in October, 1869, the possessions of the students and the movable property of the seminary were loaded into wagons, and, with the students traveling afoot, the seminary was transferred to the buildings formerly occupied by Saint Joseph's College, adjoining the old Cathedral, at Bardstown.[14] This was the final exodus of

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[12] *Ibid.*, 35.

[13] *Ibid.*, 38.

[14] Founded in 1819 under the direction of Bishop Flaget, St. Joseph's College was conducted by the diocesan clergy until 1848. Transferred in that year to the administration of the Jesuits, the institution flourished until 1861, when circumstances developing out of the Civil War forced the suspension of classes. Unable subsequently to come to an agreement with the bishop on matters deemed vital to the continuance of the college, the Jesuits withdrew in 1868, and the administration of the institution reverted to the diocese. It was at this juncture that the seminary was transferred from St. Thomas to St. Joseph's. See W. J. Howlett, "The Early Days of St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (April, 1922), 372-380.

ecclesiastical education from Saint Thomas; a chapter in the history of Catholic education in the West was closed on that day. At the present time only the foundation walls of the seminary building remain. Happily the old log residence of Bishop Flaget and the old chapel, one-time "cathedral" of the same prelate, have been preserved. The chapel now serves as St. Thomas parish church. In contrasting St. Thomas' with St. Joseph's College, Father Howlett writes:

> There were some little hardships at St. Thomas; we had to cut our firewood to keep the place warm, we went to the well for water to wash our faces from a pan on a log, stump or any convenient place winter and summer, but we kept warm and reasonably clean. We had cornbread and bacon as the great reliables, but we had white bread at least once a day, and on feast days we feasted. The faculty fared about as we did, and we felt that we were at home as brothers under a good father.

After completing his preparatory studies at Bardstown, Mr. Howlett was sent to France, where he studied philosophy and theology at the Sulpician seminaries at Issy-sur-Seine and at Paris. On June 10, 1876, he was ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Guilbert. A further year of study was then pursued at the University of Würzburg, Germany, where Father Howlett attended the classes of the renowned Doctors Hettinger and Hergenroether, the latter of whom later became librarian of the Vatican, a leader in the new school of Catholic historical studies, and cardinal.

On April 14, 1877, Father Howlett arrived back in Denver to take up the active work of the ministry. For the next thirty-six years the mountains and plains of Colorado were the scenes of his labors.

If the pages that follow seem perhaps too highly factual, it must be recalled that it is here the intention to offer a view of the condition of the Church and her ministry in Colorado sixty years ago. This purpose can hardly be accomplished more effectively or more surely than by setting forth the life of a missionary priest in these regions during those decades.

The ministry of the Church in Colorado, following the lines of the civil development of the Territory and State, naturally falls into three distinct areas of activity—the city of Denver, the mining regions of the mountains, and the agricultural areas of the plains. Father Howlett labored in all three, but since the conditions of the urban ministry are much the same everywhere,

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[15] *Recollections*, 39.

whereas the other two regions present a number of new environmental factors, it has been felt best to devote the larger portion of the article to these areas. In this manner there will be gained a clearer idea of the work of the Church in the mining and agricultural frontiers of the American West of the nineteenth century.

Father Howlett's first missionary assignment was to visit the Catholics along the railroad east of Denver, and the Catholic families on the ranches near the stations.

> The section foremen were generally good and reliable men, and most of them were Catholics and practiced their religion, so I always had a stopping place where I would be welcome. Bishop Machebeuf laid out my itinerary; it was to visit certain stations, and say mass and administer the sacraments to all desiring them and give them an encouraging and helpful sermon. . . . The Bishop told me that [the preaching] was easy; all I had to do was to tell them to be good and say their prayers and teach the children, and little practical things like these, and, as I was not twice in the same place, the same sermon would [do] for [the] whole trip. Such, he said, was his practice when he started out on the missions in Ohio many years before, and it worked out all right.[16]

Unfortunately Father Howlett does not mention many of the stations visited on this trip. He does, however, say that he visited Hugo and "a station beyond Hugo where the Clifford's lived." The present-day station of Clifford on the line of the Union Pacific between Kansas City and Denver is some 113 miles east of Denver. On subsequent trips he went as far as Kit Carson near the Kansas boundary.

After his return from this trip Father Howlett was assigned temporarily to the parish of Georgetown. This was his first experience of missionary life in the mining regions of the state, and, while the assignment was but temporary, it served to acquaint him with the technique and demands of the ministry in these regions.

> The mining camps along the South Clear Creek were in Father Machebeuf's early mission trips. Grass Valley, Illinois Bar, Idaho Springs, Spanish Bar, Trail Run, Fall River, Mill Creek, Downieville, Lawson's Empire, Alvarado and Georgetown were some of the stations. Most of them have long since disappeared from [the] geography of the locality, but Georgetown remains, though fallen greatly from its former prosperity. When a pastor was sent to Central City this district was also visited by him.
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> The discovery of rich silver mines, and the introduction of profitable methods for the extraction and refining of the precious metal, in the '60's,

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[16] *Ibid.*, 59.

made Georgetown a place of importance. Another town, Silver Plume, two and a half miles further up the creek, became of almost equal importance in the early '70's by reason of its richer mines, but Georgetown was the County Seat, and had the advantage of a more favorable site for residences, business houses, and mills for the reduction of the ores. It became, then, the business center and the center of population.[17]

The Rev. John B. Raverdy, pastor of Central City, visited Georgetown from 1866 until 1871, [and] said mass mostly in Brownell's hall. He secured ground for a church, but in those wild times when mine jumping and lot jumping was the order of the day, or rather of the night, he would have lost it, if good Irishmen of the congregation had not acted as armed guards until title could be secured beyond all dispute.[18]

Following this temporary sojourn in the mining country, Father Howlett returned again to the farming communities, visiting Longmont, Loveland, and Fort Collins, none of which had yet been organized into regular parishes.[19]

And then we find him making another visit to the mountains, this time undertaken to serve not the mining population but the railroad construction workers. His account of this journey fur-

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[17] "In the early days Central City was the heart of the mining district. Other places were little more than prospects, but Central City had the mines, and gold was being taken from them in large quantities. Denver was headquarters for the entire region, but Denver had no mines. It was the great center for supplies, and all the mines looked to it for support, as it looked to the mines for profit. Locating definitely in Denver as the logical place of residence, Father Machebeuf made Central City his first mission. He visited it several times before the close of 1860, each time saying Mass at a different place. The first Mass was said in a theatre, the second in a vacant billiard room, the third in a dance hall. The fourth in vacant store, etc. . . .

"Father Machebeuf's first congregation numbered 200, most of whom were men. Few families had come at this early date, and few women of respectability ventured among that conglomerate mass of male humanity" (*History*, 13).

A concise account of the development of the mining industry in Colorado will be found in Le Roy R. Hafen, *Colorado, The Story of a Western Commonwealth*, Denver, 1933. More specific details of individual camps and towns are contained in Baker and Hafen (eds.), *History of Colorado* (1927), and in numerous articles scattered throughout the files of the *Colorado Magazine*.

[18] *History*, 15.

[19] Longmont was founded in 1871 by the Chicago-Colorado Colony. Although there were no Catholics among the original colonists, members of the Church began to come in as the railroad was built northward (*History*, 35). See also James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (eds.), *Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872* (University of Colorado *Historical Collections*, Colony Series, Volume II), Boulder, Colorado, 1926, 135-330.

"The City of Fort Collins occupies the site of a fort and military reservation which was thrown open to settlers in 1872. An organized colony of settlers then came in and built up homes and a prosperous town. Prior to this time there were a number of French-Canadians along the banks of the Cache-a-la-Poudre river, and they were visited during the early years by Father Machebeuf. . . . Without doubt he was here in 1861 and also Father Raverdy . . ." (*History*, 35-36).

nishes us with a glimpse of another aspect of Catholic life in Colorado in the late 'seventies.

> The Bishop . . . started on one of his long visitations and only Father Raverdy and myself were left in Denver. Yet, I had to make a visit to some of the camps along the railroad that was then being built in the mountains up the Platte river. . . . I took a horse and buggy for the trip, and one day in the vicinity of Dome Rock I was caught in a mountain snow storm. The road soon dwindled to a mere trail, and that was difficult to follow in the storm. To add to my trouble a connecting rod in my buggy broke while I was descending a steep and sliding mountain side. I managed to tie it up with a loose strap from the harness, and finally reached a camp almost frozen. The foreman of the ranch saw me coming, and, helping me out of the buggy, he told me to go in to the fire and he would take care of my horse. While I was getting warm and talking to the cook, who was an Irishman, the foreman (a non-Catholic Englishman named Madge) asked his men, who were mostly Irish, what was the custom when the priest came to visit the camp. They told him of mass in the morning, to which he kindly agreed and said they might take an hour from work for that purpose. I told him they need lose no time for the mass would be before working hours. . . . At another camp I was told that morning services were not possible but I might preach on temperance some night. . . .[20]

When the Jesuit Fathers of the Neapolitan Province came to Colorado from New Mexico in 1879, they relieved the labors of the secular clergy at the Cathedral, but the latter were still left with the outside missions. "Father Howlett attended those to the east as far as Kit Carson near the Kansas boundary."[21]

In 1879 the mountain parish of Central City became vacant by the death of the famous bibliophile, Father J. M. Finotti. The parish was on the verge of bankruptcy, and not being able to find an experienced pastor, Bishop Machebeuf assigned it to Father Howlett. He remained pastor there until 1886, meanwhile bringing order out of the financial chaos, healing local divisions among factions, and attending the small mining camps in the surrounding region, which usually flourished for a short time and then closed down.

> In those days the whole of Northwestern Colorado was almost a wilderness. The Ute Indians had been removed to Utah after the Meeker Massacre, but they would return at times in the hunting season and then there would be trouble. In the summer of 1879 they killed some of the adventurous settlers near Meeker, and were supposed to have set fire to the timber. One Sunday the smoke was so thick at Central City that it was supposed that the Indians were burning the timber near the town. I was teaching

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[20] *Recollections,* 61-62.

[21] *Ibid.,* 62. (An account of the coming of the Jesuits is given in the article following this.)

Sunday school and had to light the lamps at three o'clock to continue the class. . . . It was a false alarm, however, for the Indians were nearly a hundred miles away. Once afterwards they invaded that section to hunt and fight, but a force was sent against them by the State, and after a single skirmish they retreated to their reservation in Utah and were kept there by the U. S. forces.[22]

With the years came changes in the industrial and social life of Colorado, and of these changes Father Howlett became a part.

As the years passed the inhabitants of Central City and the other mountain towns would move away and locate in the towns and country in the level districts. I myself felt that mountain scenery was good for a time, but the attraction began to wear off and I longed for a place where the view widened out and one could move about without a feeling of being hemmed in even by those beautiful barriers. . . . I did not let the thought worry me much but I felt its force, and when, in 1886, Bishop Machebeuf called me to Denver I left Central City without many regrets.[23]

After a few months at the Denver Cathedral Father Howlett again took to the mission field, this time in the new and coming agricultural areas of the plains. Here again we witness the re-enactment of the age-old adjustment of the Church's teaching mission to the demands of specific environments. Father Howlett's new field of labor was in northern Colorado.

Lines drawn from Denver to the boundaries of the state both north and east would cut off a section nearly one hundred miles in width and one hundred and fifty in length. This section had no priest in its entire extent. Father Thomas M. Conway of North Platte, Nebraska, had made one or two visits to a part of it but no priest in Colorado had charge of it. In leaving Denver I assumed the care of this field. It is not that most of it was an unbroken prairie over which herds of cattle ranged, but there were two railroads crossing it and homesteaders were then coming in to take up government land. Several little towns were starting also, among which were Brighton, Platteville, Fort Morgan, Sterling, Julesburg, Akron and Yuma. Section houses at the intermediate stations were about fifteen miles apart, and many of these were in charge of Catholic men. My first work was to explore this region and find out who and where the Catholics were. After locating them I made the little towns my stations for Sundays, and visited intervening section houses during the week. My first headquarters were at Brighton, about twenty miles from Denver, and there I built my first mission church. Mr. Daniel Carmichael donated the ground, and in 1887 I built a neat brick church which served the congregation well until a new one was built about 1930. Sterling was then growing and a new railroad to it when the Burlington was building from Holdrege in Nebraska to Cheyenne in Wyoming. From the graders on this road I collected enough

[22] *Ibid.*, 63.
[23] *Ibid.*, 66.

money to buy a block of ground in Sterling, and in 1888 I built a frame church, which was dedicated by Bishop Matz, June 24, 1888,—the feast of its patron, St. John the Baptist. This church had the misfortune of being hit three times by hurricanes and demolished the third time.[24]

The northeastern portion of Colorado was the region where some of Father Howlett's most extensive work was done. It was in this area that he acquired the name of a church builder. It was to prove the more permanent area of the state too. With the passing of years many of the mines ceased to produce in quantities deemed sufficient for the investments. The mines, in consequence, were closed, the population began to move away, and the towns sank to a state of somnambulance if they did not become altogether "ghost towns." But the agricultural areas, on the contrary, tended to increase in population and prosperity.

This northeastern corner of Colorado was still very largely cattle country when Father Howlett took up his work there. But in time the range was curtailed and more general agriculture took its place. Father Howlett's reminiscenses contain a number of pithy paragraphs tracing the ecclesiastical and civil development of the locality.

Prior to 1887 there were but few Catholics in what is now Logan and Washington counties. Both these counties were then a part of Weld county (both the counties have since been subdivided several times), and had no settlers except along the lines of the Union Pacific and the Burlington railroads. Sterling was a division station on the U. P. road, and as such had prospects of becoming a town of some importance. It was founded by people from Mississippi and Tennessee who belonged to the Southern Methodist or Cumberland Presbyterian denominations, and these naturally inherited a great deal of religious prejudice. However, none of them opposed me in [my] efforts to establish a Catholic church there, and some of them even added their mite to my subscription list. I first said mass in the railroad section house occupied by Mr. Michael Nelligan, then in a small hall owned by a citizen and rented for any public purpose, and finally in my new church. The congregation was composed mostly of railroad men, and the remainder, about a dozen in all, were business men and homesteaders.

Julesburg was at the N. E. corner of the state at the junction of the main line of the U. P. railroad and the branch line leading to Denver. It was a new frontier town and was all agog over the rush of settlers seeking government land. Like all frontier towns it was praised up as the future great city, from which railroads were to radiate to all parts. It was said to have every natural advantage and blessing except rain, and that would follow as it always did when the country was settled and the ground plowed. There were several good business blocks there and I bought a site for a church, but in the meantime said mass at the section house. Counting

[24] *Ibid.*, 67.

the homesteaders with the railroad people there was a nice little congregation, but later this and most of the frontier towns dwindled away for a time when the homesteaders found that the rain did not come and they had to abandon their claims and seek a living elsewhere.[25]

Respecting his ministry in this farming section, Father Howlett tells us that

Brighton, Platteville, Sterling and Julesburg were small towns on the Union Pacific railroad where I could say Mass on Sundays and have a goodly number at mass, and there were six intervening stations where I went on weekdays. On the Burlington road Fort Morgan, Akron and Yuma were the principal stations, and four smaller places where I said Mass. When the Burlington road was completed as far as Sterling on the Cheyenne line, a thrifty town was founded near the boundary of Nebraska, called Holyoke, and I attended that as well as three stations in Nebraska, and three more on the new line.[26]

Looking back over these years on the Colorado mission, he writes:

I cannot leave the subject of my prairie missions without paying due tribute to the generous-hearted and faithful Catholics of those pioneer days in Eastern Colorado. There were no rich among them as far as worldly goods go but they were rich in faith and good will. Some came long distances to mass and thirty-five miles were not too long when they had a child to be baptized. When I visited them in their homes nothing they had was too good for me. If they were at meals they invited me to sit down with them, but generally they would begin by taking their ordinary food from the table to substitute something better. To this I always objected, telling them that what was good enough for them at all times was good enough for me at one meal, and I was not fit to be a missionary if I could not live on the food of the country. They may have lived in a sod house or a dugout, but the best corner was given to the priest. In fact I found that it was possible to kill one with kindness.[27]

Father Howlett's connection with these missions of northeastern Colorado was broken in 1889, when he was transferred to St. Ignatius' Church, Pueblo, where he arrived on February 1 of that year. A year later he was moved to St. Leo's Church, Denver, where he remained until the church was completed and the school in operation. He was then called to the rectorship of the Cathedral where the finances were in a difficult condition. He was next transferred to the parish of Georgetown, once prosperous but at his coming in decline owing to the fall in the price of silver. There was debt on the church at Georgetown and on

[25] *Ibid.*, 67.
[26] *Ibid.*, 68.
[27] *Ibid.*, 70.

its mission church at Silver Plume. For two years Father Howlett labored to bring the finances of the parish into good condition, and in 1897 he was transferred to Colorado City, now a part of Colorado Springs. Here, too, he was faced with the problem of paying off a small debt and virtually building up a parish. And again in 1903 he was sent back to St. Ignatius' Church, Pueblo, to pay off debt once more and to make improvements in the parish.

Weary, at last, of the task of debt-paying Father Howlett now requested Bishop Matz for a small parish where he might devote more time to his literary work. In response Bishop Matz assigned him to the parish of Loveland, of which he took charge in the autumn of 1909.

It was while serving as pastor of Loveland that Father Howlett received the invitation of Mother General Praxedes Carty of the Sisters of Loretto to assume the chaplaincy of the Loretto Mother House at Nerinx, Kentucky, left vacant by the death of his seminary friend, Father E. Drury. This request was seconded by many of the priests of the Louisville Diocese, and by its bishop, the Rt. Rev. Denis O'Donaghue. Bishop Matz acquiesced, and in October, 1913, Father Howlett took up residence at Loretto, which was to end only with his death.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

(Part II will appear in April)

DOCUMENTS

Account of the First Jesuit Missionary Journey Across the Plains to Santa Fe

The Jesuits in New Mexico date the history of their labors from the fifteenth of August, 1867, two decades after the Spanish frontier in New Mexico had become a part of the United States. Bishop Lamy of Santa Fé, in need of missionaries for his diocese, had gone to Rome to ask for help from the Jesuits. The provincial at Naples was looking for a foreign mission to place part of the dispersed Neapolitan Province, a victim of the revolution in Italy, so by the direction of the Father General of the Society, Father P. J. Beckx, New Mexico and Colorado were added to its field of activities.

The New Mexico-Colorado mission of the Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus, begun by the little band of five Jesuits who arrived at Santa Fé in 1867, flourished.[1] A half century later, in 1919, when the mission was divided and transferred to the Missouri and New Orleans provinces, there were one hundred and twenty-two Jesuits in the field, and the scene of their activities embraced the vast area from Montana to Old Mexico, and from Arizona to Oklahoma.[2] The work inaugurated by the first Jesuit band of 1867, of which Donato M. Gasparri, author of the accompanying narrative, was a member, constitutes one of the notable chapters in the history of the Catholic Church on the American frontier.

The only original narratives of this important and remarkable missionary journey hitherto published in English are the

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[1] For the history of the New Mexico-Colorado mission of the Neapolitan Province see: J. H. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico,* San Francisco, 1887, 106-130; Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico,* Santa Fé, 1912, 522-530, based entirely on A. M. Mandalari, S. J., "Missione del Nuovo Messico e Colorado," *Lettere Edificanti della Provincia Napoletana della Compagnia di Gesu, 1911,* Naples, 1911, 217-226. Most valuable however, are Vito M. Tromby, S. J., *Historia Missionis Novi Mexico et Colorati et Elogia Nostrorum qui in ea Missione defuncti sunt,* Ms., n. d., 136 pp., and F. M. Troy, S. J., *Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado,* Ms., n. d., 140 pp., both in Regis College Archives, Denver.

[2] *Catalogus Provinciae Neapolitanae Societatis Jesu, Ineunte Anno 1919,* Naples, 1919, 42.

very brief and incomplete accounts of Sister M. Kotska Gauthreaux, S. L., and John Geatley, edited by Thomas F. O'Connor and published in MID-AMERICA, XIX (January, 1937), pp. 62-67, and the short excerpts from Father Brun and Father Gasparri to be found in Defouri and Sister Lilliana Owens.[3]

Gasparri's account appeared in Italian in the *Lettere Edificanti* of the Neapolitan Province in 1886.[4] It had been dictated by him in Spanish to Father Vito M. Tromby, who translated it into Italian for the records of the Neapolitan Province, where it appeared in print over Gasparri's name four years after his death.[5] Not only is it the only full length account by a participant, but it fills an important gap in the history of the beginnings of the Jesuit Mission of New Mexico and Colorado; and for the general history of the American frontier it is a source of real and unusual value for the story of life on the western trails in the 1860's.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Containing the account of the journey of Father Donato M. Gasparri of the Society of Jesus, when he went to found the New Mexico mission in 1867.

Although the account of this journey is set forth belatedly, it is not because it is lacking in interests, for I can relate in fullest detail those things which in other letters are related very briefly. This account can be of much value for the history of the mission which the Society founded in New Mexico.

The illustrious John Baptist Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, after having assisted in the month of October, 1866, at the second National Council of the United States, held in Baltimore, left for Europe charged with carrying and presenting at Rome the acts of the Council. From the time that the diocese of New Mexico had been entrusted to him, in order to do good he had brought from the United States some religious of the Congregation of Our Lady of Loretto for the

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[3] Defouri, 107-117, and Sister Lilliana Owens, *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West*, Ph. D. Ms., St. Louis University, St. Louis, 1935, 312, 313. Secondary accounts may be found in Troy, 1-15, Owens, 307-315, Tromby, 5-7, Defouri, *ut. cit.*, Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fé Trail*, Columbus, 1932, 100-105, and Rev. J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado*, Banning, California, 1898, 257-258.

[4] *Lettere Edificanti della Provincia Napoletana della Compagnia di Gesu, Serie V, 1886-1887*, Naples, 1886, 170-176.

[5] *Ibid.*, preliminary note, 170.

education of the girls, and from France some Brothers of the Christian Doctrine for the boys. Likewise, on the various journeys which he made in France he always brought French priests to this mission for the good of the people. For the greater development of his diocese on this expedition he asked and obtained from our Very Reverend Father General, Peter Beckx, some Fathers of the Society.

This mission was added to the Neapolitan Province, and the Father General ordered some of the Neapolitan Fathers and Brothers laboring in Spain at the time to leave for New Mexico.

In New Mexico proper there had been no Jesuits prior to 1767 [sic], although they had been in the vicinity, where they were well known and highly esteemed. They returned then one hundred years after they had been expelled from the Spanish colonies.

Father Francesco Ferrante, the provincial at Naples, chose Fathers Donato M. Gasparri and Raffaele Bianchi, and Brother Raffaele Vezza, who would find other companions in Paris and New York. The letter which notified us of the day of our departure arrived on Good Friday, April 19, 1867; it exhorted us to set out at once. So without delay, I, who was in Valencia, Spain, set out for Tortosa on the 23rd to join Fr. Bianchi and Bro. Vezza, and on the following day all three of us left for Barcelona. There we could have remained a few days, but we chose to go by way of Manresa and Zaragoza before leaving Spain, which we would never see again, in order to visit Loyola, which none of us had seen. We reached Manresa on the afternoon of the 25th, Zaragoza on the 26th, and Loyola on the 27th. On the following day, Low Sunday, we had the consolation of celebrating mass at the home of our saintly father Ignatius, and of honoring and venerating his sacred memory. In Loyola we met two French priests and Fr. O'Callaghan of Maryland who were on their way back from Rome, and with them we left for Bayona on that same Sunday afternoon. On the following day, the 29th, we alone went to Bordeaux, on the 30th we were at Blois, and on the 1st of May we arrived at Paris, which was the day we were due there, in accordance with our instructions. But it was not necessary to be in such a hurry, because the ship which was to take us was not to leave Havre until the 9th of May; and neither Bishop Lamy nor his companions, with whom we were to travel, were in Paris. We found only our Brother Prisco Caso, who joined us for the mission. Being in Paris we went to see the

Universal Exposition with Bishop Lamy and Fr. Secchi, and on the 7th we departed for Havre. In the bishop's party there were three secular priests and eight seminarians, among whom were two of his nephews. On the 9th we embarked on the ship *Europa* of the Compagnie Transatlantique, and we left port at noon. On the following day we anchored at the port of Brest. Many disembarked, and some of us went to our House, returning to sleep on board. On the 11th, the feast of Saint Francis Girolamo, we were able to say Mass in our church at Brest, and in the afternoon we returned to the ship. Among the passengers were two Prussian Fathers of our Society, Fathers Braun and De Xahua-Badliz [de Haza-Radlitz], on their way to St. Louis, Missouri, whose acquaintance it was our pleasure to make three days later.

Sea voyages are ordinarily all alike and monotonous, if this sad monotony is not interrupted by wind and storm. Ours was a most happy one, despite some dangers which we encountered. The wind was always against us. During the first three days the weather was good, but after a while it became rainy and foggy. Off Newfoundland a real storm arose, but on Sunday the sea was calm and we said Mass. Although the fog was very thick on the 22nd, nevertheless the following day was magnificent. We were approaching the continent and we began to see land, which made us very happy after so many days on the sea. At last we entered the port of New York, or bay of the Hudson River. The voyage, which was over three thousand (3000) miles distance, took us twelve days. Because we were missionaries much of our baggage was let in duty free at the New York customs house, which would have been quite the contrary in Europe. There we separated from the bishop and his companions, and went to our College of Saint Francis Xavier where we were received by our brethren with much hospitality. We remained a few days in New York, and in that great and populous city we saw many beautiful things.

On the very night that we reached New York, Fr. Angelo Paresce, provincial of the Maryland Province, was notified of our arrival, as was expected. As he was of our province, our Father Provincial and the very reverend Father General had recommended us to him. Also a Father in Maryland was to join us, Fr. Livio Vigilante, of our province, who was at this time at the College of Worcester. He and Fr. Paresce reached New York on the 25th of March. As the following day was Sunday, we waited until Monday the 27th, when we left for Baltimore at about eight o'clock in the morning. By noon we were in Phila-

delphia, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we reached Baltimore, one of the largest cities in the United States, situated on the Patapsco River, founded by the Catholics, Lord Baltimore and his colony, where for the first time religious liberty was proclaimed. In this same city, after the United States had declared their independence, was established the first Episcopal See in 1783 [1789] because up to that time the American Catholics were subject to the Vicar Apostolic of London. The first Bishop of Baltimore was our Fr. John Carroll, who was presented by the American clergy and approved by the Holy Father Pius VI. The diocese of Baltimore was not created until 1789, and the said Father was not consecrated until 1790.

We remained some time in Baltimore, from whence we went to Georgetown, and then returned. On the 4th of June the five of us moved on to Cincinnati, destined for the New Mexico Mission, travelling 544 miles by railroad, from eight o'clock Tuesday morning until five o'clock Wednesday afternoon. On the following day, after dinner, we left Cincinnati for Saint Louis, where we arrived the next day before noon, after travelling three hundred and forty miles. On the 10th, the first Sunday after Pentecost, after our noon meal, we departed for Leavenworth. There, at the home of Monsignor Miège, of our Society, Vicar Apostolic of Kansas, the rest of our companions were awaiting us with Bishop Lamy. From New York to Leavenworth we had travelled one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine miles, all by railroad. We rested there for three days and on Friday, after dinner, we resumed our journey.

Besides the bishop, we were six priests, three of the Society and three seculars, two of our Brothers, two Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, five nuns, three Sisters of Loretto and two Sisters of Charity, a young French student with his parents and a sister, a young Mexican, a nephew of the bishop, and four other persons, twenty-six in all. We had two wagons for provisions, five carriages, and various mules and horses, some for riding and others for heavier duty. Since there were no more railroads some travelled in carriages and others on horseback, and that afternoon we travelled very little distance. From Leavenworth to Junction City, crossing mountain country, the road was rocky and difficult. Along the road we came across growing villages and cities. When it was necessary to stop, either by day or by night, we would make camp near some inhabited place. We would unloose the animals and prepare dinner or supper, everyone doing his

part in the preparation of the meal. When night came, after supper and recreation, everyone, whenever and wherever he pleased, would spread his blanket on the ground and go to sleep; but for the nuns there was a tent. During the first few nights rain sometimes accompanied by thunder and lightning caused us great trouble and made it difficult for us to sleep, and during the day we suffered greatly from the heat. More than once the road was badly damaged by the storms, which with other causes greatly delayed our journey.

On the 20th toward evening we arrived at the place occupied by the Pottowatomi Indians, in the center of which is located the headquarters of the mission founded by our Jesuit Fathers, and where there is also a college of ours for the boys, and another for the girls run by the Religious of the Sacred Heart. We were well received there by the Fathers. On Sunday, the 23rd, the bishop preached in English. In Church there were both Americans and Indians. That night there was a musical program because it was the eve of the bishop's saint's day. There we were joined by Fr. de Blieck, a Belgian of the Missouri province whom our Fathers had turned over to the bishop for a while.

On the 24th we departed, and that night we arrived at Louisville. On the following day we crossed the Blue River by boat, and stopped near a village named Manhattan. Two days later, on the 27th, we reached the Republican River, which we also crossed by boat, and two or three miles from there we stopped at Junction City to rest. We remained there that night and the following day in order to obtain information regarding the wild Indians and to make proper preparations because we were going to travel for many days over desert country. Although the reports we had concerning the Indians were very fearful, nevertheless our caravan went on from Junction City. Other caravans were soon to leave Leavenworth with our baggage, but they were not taking the same road.

We spent that night a few miles from Junction City. The next day, which was the feast of St. Peter, the bishop said mass and then returned to Junction City on business. There we were visited by four peaceful Indians, all badly equipped and dirty and only one of whom was armed. They greeted us in their language, "Hau, Hau," shook hands, sat on the ground near us, and asked for coffee, tobacco, and liquor. After they had eaten and observed everything, they left, for which reason we thought they were spies. Although we caught up with other groups of travellers we

went ahead, and thus we travelled alone for three days, whereas the others joined them in order to be better protected. But on the 3rd of July we also tried to reach other caravans which were ahead of us. We met a dozen Indians, but they did not give us any trouble, perhaps because they saw that we were a goodly number.

The wagons of the caravans were drawn by oxen, and on account of this going was slow. Whenever many caravans would join together certain rules and regulations were established. A captain was chosen whom all must obey, and he had his council composed of men chosen from among the drivers of the wagons. When we joined the caravan that had been ahead of us, it already had its captain. Nevertheless they offered the command to the bishop. But he thanked them for the honor and left them in authority as they were more familiar with that type of travel. Since they were Mexicans and Catholics they were very pleased to travel with us, and they promised to defend us from the Indians at any cost. They were many and they were leading about eighty wagons. Whenever we stopped we would form a camp surrounded by the wagons in order to protect ourselves from attack.

From the night of July 3rd until the 31st of the same month we travelled along the edge of the Arkansas River. It has its source in the Rocky Mountains and empties into the Mississippi, and its course is (1,600) sixteen hundred miles. Its banks were infested with Indians, and a few days before there had been attacks and clash of arms. Often we would come across signs of destruction, such as houses in ruins, earth piled up over dead bodies, parts of corpses, arms, clothes, and abandoned wagons. On the 6th, early in the morning, we saw a band of twelve Indians, well armed and well provided. Peacefully they asked us for coffee and tobacco, and they in turn offered us buffalo meat. On the following day there was great consternation. We thought that we had seen a large band of Indians, and there was rumor that they had attacked another caravan ahead of us. On this account orders were given to stop and prepare ourselves for attack, with arms in hand, but thanks be to God nothing happened. The next day we had a similar experience. There was a thick fog and some members of the caravan went out to look for our animals, which we would let out to graze whenever we stopped. But a short while later we saw the animals returning without the men, who had lost their way in the fog. As they

were delaying and it was time to depart the captain gave orders to resume the journey, ordering some to remain behind to await and search for them. But when the fog cleared, since they did not see the wagons, but the men on horseback instead, they thought them to be Indians, and they were very frightened because they were without weapons or horses. On this account they hid themselves behind the trees and thought themselves lost. But when the riders approached they recognized them to be their companions, and returned with them to rejoin the caravan. From that day onward the road was less deserted, for we found posthouses and forts where soldiers were stationed.

On the 11th of June we reached the Panama River and it took us all day to cross it. Fort Larned is near there, and we stopped there for a while because a few Catholic soldiers were sick with cholera and they desired to see a priest. On the following day we had three cases of cholera among those in our caravan, and one died within a few hours. On the same day we thought that we could see a herd of animals in the distance, and many from the caravan hastened, some on foot and some on horseback, to hunt them down, but upon approaching them it was discovered that they were men, and believing them to be Indians they turned back in order to warn us of the danger, so that we could make preparations for our defense. But instead it was another caravan that had been attacked by Indians the day before and which was about to defend itself from us, believing us to be Indians.

Continuing our journey that day, in the afternoon we succeeded in killing many buffalo. On the 16th we arrived at Fort Dodge, which is fifty-five miles from Fort Larned, and we resumed our journey immediately after supper. In the evening, at sunset, we saw some Indians rushing towards us. We stopped, unharnessed the animals, and placed them within the protection of the wagons with which we surrounded our camp, and with weapons ready we prepared to defend ourselves. But in less than a quarter of an hour the Indians had disappeared, hiding themselves behind the hills, from whence they later attempted to attack thinking that we had forgotten them. But they did not come near us for they were frightened by our position and the shouts of the Mexicans, and they soon departed. That very same night, another caravan which was about four miles away having been attacked by Indians and a great number of lives having been lost, a messenger from that caravan rode into our camp to ask for help. Our men were stationed in various groups around the

wagons, some standing watch and others sleeping. The man who had come was an American, but fearing him to be a spy or a traitor we did not deem it advisable to listen to his request. In any case it was dangerous to divide our people or to move camp by night. He left, but a short time later he returned to our camp and spent the night with us. In the morning we went on and joined the other caravan. We visited the wounded, one of whom was a Protestant who through the ministrations of Fr. de Blieck was converted, baptized, and died a Catholic.

News of the fate of this caravan must have reached Fort Dodge, because before noon some soldiers from that fort joined us. We remained there all day, and that night we received the sad news that a Mexican caravan from Las Vegas had suffered the loss of five hundred and thirty oxen, and two lives at the hands of the Indians. But it was their fault, for they had permitted the animals to graze too far from the wagons. The following day we went as far as a ford in the river where about six hundred persons were gathered together. Some attempted to cross the river at that point but it was quite difficult. On the 22nd we went on a little farther in search of a place where we could cross the river more safely. Here one of the young men had an attack of cholera. On continuing our journey we spied some Indians. We were between the river on one side and some hills on the other. We immediately made camp and prepared for our defense. A short while later we saw a great number of Indians rushing down toward us from the hills. There were about three hundred of them, but most of them remained on the hills; they must have had their families and their belongings with them.

When these Indians wish to make a planned attack they use a strange stratagem. They commence to run about the camp in all directions, making it very difficult to determine their plans, and this method was employed by those who attacked us that day. Our people began to fire upon them but they paid no attention and went on with their movements. Then they gathered in various groups as if to consult on some plan, and after they had separated again they began to run and fire at us at the same time. Whereas our men had to fire at them while they were in flight, the Indians had us standing still in our camp. The Mexicans killed and wounded some of the enemy, but these Indians, who dread to leave their dead or wounded in the hands of the enemy, picked them up and carried them away. We fought for more than two hours without any loss on our part. However,

one of the Mexicans died of cholera in a few hours, and a short while later another who had been afflicted since morning met the same fate. We wished to resume our journey but it was too late, and we remained there all night. At about sunset an Indian appeared on the other side of the river unarmed and greeted us with the words, "Españoles amigos." Nevertheless, believing him to be a spy we frightened him by pointing guns at him and he fled.

On the following day we resumed our journey without delay. News of the attack had reached Fort Dodge, with the report that our camp had been annihilated with the exception of the nuns who had been taken captive. This report was sent to the Secretary of War in Washington, and from there it spread throughout all the United States and even reached Europe. On that same day, following the attack, one of the nuns got sick, received the last sacraments during the night, and died at ten o'clock the next morning. She was only twenty years old, and her name was Sister Alfonsina Thompson. It is not necessary for me to say how much we grieved her death. For fear of the Indians we did not think that it would be wise to remain at the place where she became ill.

On the 26th we separated from the caravan, believing that we were already out of danger, in order to continue our journey more rapidly. This we did on the border of Kansas and Colorado. Toward evening we arrived at Fort Aubrey where we remained a few hours. About midnight we resumed our journey. The evening of the 29th we reached new Fort Lyon, and many Americans and Irishmen came to visit us. From there we were to cross the Arkansas River in a large government boat. Everything had been arranged with the captain of the fort, but that very same night the boat went down, and it was necessary for us to go as far as Bent's Fort. But the boat there was small and scarcely large enough for the people alone. For this reason it was necessary to continue our journey along the edge of the river. At last, by the grace of God and through the intercession of Saint Ignatius on July 31 we arrived at a place where there was a large boat and so we crossed to the other side of the river. There an altar was set up and Fr. Vigilante said Mass, and the rest of us received Holy Communion in honor of our holy Founder. In the afternoon we resumed our jourey. On the following day, which was the 1st of August, we arrived at Iron Spring, and on the 2nd we reached Rock Spring, where after many days we at last

found clear and fresh water; and we began to see some inhabited villages.

On the 3rd, about noon, the parish priest of Trinidad came out to meet us. We were only a short distance from that village. Trinidad is situated on the Las Animas River, which river still goes by that name, and at the foot of Ratón Mountain, one of the highest of the Rocky Mountains chain. The inhabitants received us with great joy, and on the following day, which was Sunday, August 4th, we said Mass and resumed our journey to Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico Territory, and of the three dioceses of Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. We were still two hundred and eight miles from Santa Fé. That night we arrived at Toll Gate or Summit House. On Monday morning we descended to the plain and crossed the Colorado River. On the following day we crossed the Vermejo River and the Cimarron. The night of the 7th we arrived at a small village named Virginia City, and on the 8th we reached Lago Salado, where thanks to God we were not bothered by the Ute Indians, who from time to time infest those regions. From there we resumed our journey to Mora, another village near which the parish priest came out to meet us, and with whom we proceeded as far as a place named Ocate. In order to pass on from there to Mora there was some difficulty due to the captain at Fort Union. But this difficulty was overcome and we arrived at Mora on the following day. There we spent two more days. From there we went to Las Vegas and then on to San Miguel. Everything we were received with great acclaim. On the 14th of August we arrived at Glorieta, which is on the road to Santa Fé, and on the 15th we entered the capital accompanied by a magnificent procession composed of men on horseback and in carriages, and all the townspeople who had come out to meet us. And here we must say that among those who came out to meet us were many well-to-do Protestants and Governor Mitchell in person. As soon as we entered the city we went straight to the church where we sang the Te Deum and the bishop gave the benediction. Afterward we went to the bishop's residence, the brothers of Christian Doctrine and the nuns went to their respective convents, and the people sought their homes. And thus by Divine Goodness and Providence our journey came to a happy ending.

And now is set forth briefly the distance in miles traveled from Leavenworth to Santa Fé:

From Leavenworth to Junction City..... 150 miles
From Junction City to Fort Larned..... 168 miles

From Fort Larned to Fort Dodge..... 55 miles
From Fort Dodge to Fort Aubrey..... 101 miles
From Fort Aubrey to Fort Lyon..... 68 miles
From Fort Lyon to Bent's Old Fort..... 34 miles
From Bent's Old Fort to Gray's Ranch..... 91 miles
From Maxwell to Santa Fé with various stops.....163 miles

If to this we add also 1,563 + 3,300 + 1,579 = 6,442 miles, for the various stops made between Valencia, Havre, Leavenworth, and Santa Fé, we have a total of 7,340 miles.

DONATO M.ª GASPARRI, S. J.

Notes and Comment

CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB PRIBER

A communication by Father Joseph Cantillon (signed J. C.) to the *Historical Bulletin* of November, 1936, called the attention of readers to the fact that the Appleton's *Cyclopedia* listed thirty-one individuals in its pages as Jesuits, and that these are unknown as such to all except the anonymous author or authors of the *Cyclopedia* articles. If the gentleman whose name heads this note had been deemed worthy of an entry in the Appleton compilation, he would most assuredly share with the thirty-one a similar good fortune, or misfortune, depending upon one's point of view. We read in a thesis, presented to the University of Pennsylvania by John P. Corry and published in 1936 under the title *Indian Affairs in Georgia, 1732-1756*, page 109: "Perhaps the most interesting and enigmatic figure in the history of Anglo-French Cherokee relations was Christian Gottlieb Priber, a man who was oddly enough neither Frenchman nor Englishman, but a German Jesuit." The basis for the statement by Mr. Corry, as the reference indicates, is the article of Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," in the *Sewanee Review* (XXVII, 1919, 48-61). Turning to this article we are enlightened regarding the manner in which Mr. Corry made rumor a fact, and regarding the enigmatic Priber. We observe that the "backwoods Utopian (Priber), who, in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, imported into the wilderness the most radical current European social and political philosophy," was regarded by the authorities of the frontier provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, "as a most dangerous foe of English interests among the southern Indians, and agent of the French, even, it was darkly hinted a Jesuit." Whence this darksome hint? It is not found in contemporary accounts. Naturally, it would be too much to expect Priber to reveal his mysterious identity, to mention, even, such a heinous status in the letter, addressed by him to the trustees asking leave to go to Georgia, and found in the edition of A. D. Candler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1904, I, 218). Nor is there any hint in Adair's *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775, 240-243), wherein the English writer speaks of Priber and his scheme for obtaining universal happiness; nor is the hint in Grant's *Relation*, published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (X, 1909, 59). The latter speaks of "one Pryber who Called himself a German but was certainly an Agent for the French." There is not question of his being a Jesuit in the South Carolina *Gazette* (August 15, 1743). Antoine Bonnefoy, during his captivity among the Cherokees, met Priber. The Frenchman refers to the German several times in his journal, and calls him *Pierre Albert, pivé Albert, Pivé Albert*, and *Privé Albert* (Archives des Colonies, Paris, F 3:365v, 367, 367v), but not once does he mention him as a Jesuit. We may safely assume that if there had been the least suspicion that Priber was in any way connected with the Jesuits, the contemporaries just quoted would have said so. Moreover, the name of Priber is not found among the Jesuits listed in the official catalogues of the Order as present in North America for that period.

Priber was first made a member of the Jesuit order by *Americus*, the author of the communication to the *Annual Register for 1760, Characters*, 23, in which he says that while Oglethorpe was making an incursion to the very gates of St. Augustine, "one Preber, a German jesuit, as he afterwards appeared to be, was sent prisonner to Frederica." Unfortunately Americus forgot to tell us how he found out that Priber was a Jesuit. Later in the same communication he wrote "what passed at his several examinations, it is not in my power to determine; but the consequence was, that he was detained a prisoner, and so remained when I left the colony, at the beginning of the year 1744." The legend was born. W. B. Stevens in his *History of Georgia* (New York, 1847, I, 164), speaks of "the artful intrigues of a German Jesuit named Christian Priber, who was employed by the French to spy out the conditions of the English provinces, and to seduce the Cherokees from their allegiance to the English"; and after having given the main tenets of Priber's Utopia, he continues: "Such was the strange being whose Jesuitical intrigues well-nigh eventuated in the destruction of Georgia. A thorough Jesuit, an accomplished linguist, a deep tactician, far-sighted in his plans, and far-reaching in his expedients. J. Grahame, *History of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1850, II², 139), refers to "one Preber, a German Jesuit, whose intrigues among the Creeks and Cherokees were happily detected and defeated by Oglethorpe." The following year, A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Charleston, 1851, I, 318), prefaces the account of Adair about Priber with the following remarks: "While the English of Carolina and Georgia were engaged in various schemes to rid the territory of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi of its French populations, by unscrupulous intrigues with the natives, the French were but little behind them in similar enterprises. The Jesuits were adventurous and brave and men of captivating address, and obtained much influence over the leading Chiefs, wherever they appeared. An account of the artful intrigues of a German Jesuit, named Christian Priber, as related, in his singular style, by James Adair, an old British trader, who lived forty years among the Cherokees and Chickasaws, will now be introduced." Pickett does not say that Adair is not saying that Priber was a Jesuit. The Journal of Bonnefoy referred to above was published by N. D. Mereness in *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916). In the introduction, page 239, the editor wrote: "The French, however, were no less active than the English. In 1736, they engaged Christian Priber, a German Jesuit, to alienate the Cherokees from the English."

These few quotations show how each succeeding writer repeated uncritically what the other had said. That this should be the case is more or less to be expected from the various authors cited, but what is extraordinary is to find the Priber legend given a new lease of life in the doctoral thesis mentioned at the beginning of this note, especially in this thesis which purports to be a continuation of Dr. Crane's study on the *Southern Frontier*. Dr. Crane reviewing Mereness' compilation in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (IV, 1917-1918, 384), wrote: "The extraordinary backwoods utopian encountered by the *voyageur* Bonnefoy is rightly identified with Priber; but it is an open question whether he was in fact engaged by the French to alienate the Cherokee from the English (certainly not in 1736, for in 1735 he was already a resident of Charles

Town); and in any case it is highly improbable that he was a Jesuit." Not only highly improbable, but he was certainly not a Jesuit. Later, Dr. Crane modified his statement in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, writing that Priber's "methods, and his warnings to the Indians of English encroachments, convinced the colonists that he was a French agent, some declared a Jesuit." The "some" mentioned here appear to stand for *Americus* of the *Annual Register*, who we may remark left America at the beginning of 1744. When Adair published his work long after this date, he did not think he had to make a Jesuit of Priber. Of course, it would be naïve to expect Priber to be shorn of his Jesuit status in the next book dealing with the history of Georgia in the eighteenth century. Legends have more lives than the proverbial cat.—J. D.

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE MEETING

More than usual interest was taken in the sessions of the Academy of Political Science convention, held in New York City in November, 1937, at the Hotel Astor. Over one thousand college professors, economists, business and professional men attended, and this was said to be the largest representation in the fifty-seven years of existence of the Academy. Secretary Morgenthau and Senator Byrd spoke after the banquet as representatives of the two opposing elements of the Democratic Party, and the addresses were broadcast over a nation-wide hookup, indicative of the importance with which the proceedings were considered by the entire country. Cleavage of opinion was evident on questions of spending, taxation, and Federal incursions into fields of regulation and operation hitherto occupied by private industry.

Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, a partner of the John P. Morgan firm, presided, and in his address received almost unanimous applause when he stated that the United States had probably "the worst tax system of any civilized country." Senator Byrd demanded that the Government "stop writing checks" and adopt a "pay-as-you-go basis" through economies, repeal of the undistributed profits tax, and other tax modifications to encourage business activities. The balanced budget came in for criticism. Secretary Morgenthau expressed himself for the expansion of private business and against additional taxation, amid applause, but received good-natured twitting about the balanced budget. The significance of the discussion is revealed in the message of the President to Congress a week later.

The morning session was devoted to a consideration of the national budgets of the three great democracies, England, France, and the United States. Dr. Fred R. Fairchild, Professor of Political Economy at Yale, criticized our "budget workmanship" as having a distinctly "amateurish flavor." Dr. Harley L. Lutz, Professor of Public Finance at Princeton University, extolled the British "pay-as-you-go policy." Dr. Fairchild, citing the overestimation of revenues and underestimation of expenditure since 1930, continued: "It is not easy to avoid a suspicion of bias when we find predictions erring so consistently on one side. The American people are justified in demanding from those entrusted with the conduct of their national finances a higher standard of budget-making and a more scrupulous regard for sincerity in financial statements." He scored in no uncertain terms the "double budget" of recent years. Professor Haig discussed the

French budget. Dr. Lutz's laudatory observations on the practical way in which the English have met their budgetary problem, were rather rudely shattered by D. Graham Hutton, Assistant Editor of the *London Economist*, former Lecturer at the London School of Economics. In his opinion there was nothing "superior" and "infallible" or different in the methods used by the English in handling their financial problems; in fact, the problem of taking care of the national defense is becoming more and more difficult. It is apparent that all three countries are confronted with a serious budgetary crisis, conditions in France being more serious than in any of the other countries. The afternoon session touched more directly on the question of balancing the budget in the United States, the methods by which it might be accomplished, and the probable results if a sudden check were placed on federal spending. Many left the sessions with a feeling approaching pessimism for the future of business recovery and the stability of the stock and bond markets.—J. Z.

CURRENT LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

The historian in search of materials pertaining to more recent events frequently is forced to turn to the pages of newspapers and current periodicals. Formerly this large block of material was considered the habitat of authoritative documents, but now it is used only for citation of partisan opinions. Proof, if such is necessary, that the press may not be regarded as trustworthy by the historian, comes in the form of a book, *The Washington Correspondents*, by Leo C. Rosten. For sixteen months the author investigated the character, training, education, competency, truthfulness, objectivity, freedom for expression, and affiliations of news writers of national importance. Practically one-third of the correspondents writing from Washington were eliminated because they were relatively of minor influence. Of the remaining one hundred and twenty-seven questioned, one-third considered it almost impossible to be objective in writing national news, because of the policy of their papers. On the point of fairness and reliability a great number of newspapers were explicitly or implicitly condemned, while the significance of the same was questioned or rated very low. Fifty-five writers answered one question to the effect that freedom in the publications of their observations was not permitted where policy was in question. Varying and notable numbers of the correspondents manifested personal bias toward some or other question, such as labor, business, taxation, and national programs.

The historian need not be informed that there is a moral in this and that there is a conclusion to be drawn. It might be pointed out that this survey of the manner in which news is dispensed to this generation and made part of the growing batch of materials which some day may be quoted by a new generation of students, might well be indicated by teachers of historical methods and analysis to students preparing to be masters and doctors in history. Professors assigned to conduct the class in methodology and writers of texts on historical method are frankly distrustful of current periodical materials, yet it is clear that in some cases newspapers and magazines are rendering history a service by imparting information as accurately as possible. Mr. Rosten has done considerable toward weeding out the untrustworthy, but much remains to be done. Because of findings

of this type and because of the unreliability or incompetency of those describing an event, an attitude of skepticism is likely to be extended in an unhealthy way toward all historical materials, and the feeling may go abroad that the truth of the matter is unattainable, or that it is subjective, or that there is no truth. The conclusion should be, rather, that newspaper and magazine evidence is to be approached in a spirit of distrust, for, after all, an event occurred in only one way, and hence the objective truth remains. The subjective impressions of witnesses and the distortions of the truth merely increase the labor of the scholar rather than his despair of the attainability of the truth.

FEDERAL WRITERS PROJECT

One of the products of the Federal Writers Project, the first of a series of city guide books, describes Galena, Illinois. The Works Progress Administration has some six thousand researchers and writers employed in exposing the past and present claims to fame of localities throughout the United States. *Galena Guide* is the first of a well planned American Guide Series. It consists of an historical survey of the mining city in the far northeast corner of Illinois, with etchings interspersed, and a photograph and map section at the end of the eighty pages of text and statistics. While the booklet is an illustration of what can be done it serves also as an indication of what will have to be done, if the purpose of imparting historical information is ever to be achieved. The remedy is simple. A scholar should read the manuscripts and check errors before the printing. Otherwise, the appropriations will have been expended toward a fund of unreliable or useless information, and what educational potentialities such booklets have for the general public and for the progress in scholarship of the workers, will have been squandered.

VARIA

The Reverend Thomas F. Cullen has produced his *Catholic Church in Rhode Island,* printed by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, North Providence, Rhode Island, in 482 pages. The first part of the book is a survey of early Catholic Church developments in Maryland and New England, leading to the first Rhode Island parishes. The next part describes the organization of the dioceses of New England. The story, centering around the lives of the succession of bishops and told in reverent words, comes down to the present time. The third part is taken up with parish histories, beginning with the cathedral of Providence. The last portion is devoted to religious communities and lay societies. The very brief bibliography at the end scarcely reveals the industry of Father Cullen, and the format is far from pretentious. While designed for popular reading, the book is capable of expansion in many places, and it may well be used as an outline for future research.

The United States Catholic Historical Society published the twenty-eighth volume of *Historical Records and Studies* in November, 1937 (New York, 271 pages). The first part of the contents is "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," by Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C. It takes the nature of a compilation of great utility, including much documentary material in

the survey of seventy-five pages; another sixty pages is devoted to appendices, documents, including the officials of the Council, the activities of the American hierarchy outside the Council, the Letter of Archbishop Spalding to Bishop Dupanloup, the speech of Archbishop Blanchet, and the lengthly "Concio" of Archbishop Kenrick. Another article well documented is "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution," by William F. Mullaney, O. M. I. This is a master's dissertation written for the Catholic University of America on the subject of a recent book by James Alton James. A shorter article is entitled "James Kerrigan," by Sara M. Murphy. Mr. Thomas F. Meehan makes a very notable bibliographical contribution in his "Early Catholic Weeklies." The periodicals of the last century are listed with a three-page bibliography of fifty anti-Catholic books of the Society's collection.

In speaking of bibliographies the excellent work of the editors of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* published at the Catholic University of Louvain, deserves prominent mention. The October, 1937, number of the quarterly adds 1,537 books and articles to the previous list of 6,851, and cites competent reviews of 1,891 books previously listed. An index of names of authors and reviewers of all works in the bibliography is supplied and is of great service.

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, announces the publication of the first of its Studies, *The Historical Sources and Some La Salle Journeys,* by Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D. The study in approximately one hundred pages will be ready in January of this year.

William Warren Sweet has gathered up materials for a second volume of documents pertaining to church history and religion. The first volume was *Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists, 1783-1830;* the present volume is *Religion on the American Frontier, The Presbyterians, 1783-1840.* Preceding the letters and autobiographies is an introductory survey of the organization and spread of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and the subsequent schisms and divisions. Some of the items have no importance and others are examples of the emotionalism and intolerance of the times, but the whole work is significant as an effort at a new evaluation of the frontier from a religionist viewpoint.

Professor J. Orin Oliphant is the author of an article, published in *The Pacific Historical Review,* September, 1937, "George Simpson and the Oregon Missions." The Bucknell professor inquires into the concern of Governor Simpson for the welfare of the Oregon Indians. Simpson was contemptuous of missionary activities, until it became clear to him that unconverted and orgy-loving tribesmen were a hindrance to the fur trade. Thereupon he favored the coming of the missionaries of various denominations to the Columbia River Basin.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society 1936 (Publication 43) contains the addresses delivered at the 1936 meeting of the Society. Two addresses dealt with the historical significance of the state parks of Illinois, one by James Alton James and the other by Robert Kingery. Theodore C. Pease indicated possibilities for research in "The French

Régime in Illinois, A Challenge to Historical Scholarship," and Earl W. Hayter presented a paper on "Sources of Early Illinois Culture."

A Guide to the Resources of the American Antiquarian Society was recently published at Worcester, Massachusetts. A general description is given, pages 35 to 86, of the library and archival materials available to students. The booklet is amply illustrated and contains an index.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, October, 1937, continues its publication of valuable documents, "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana for January-June, 1751," and "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana for April, 1783." The Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, issued a seventy-page illustrated brochure entitled *General Zachary Taylor,* whose emphasis is on the war with Mexico.

The Pacific Northwest Quarterly, October, 1937, published a "Survey of Spokane Church Archives." The archival materials in all the active and defunct churches of Spokane, Washington, are indicated briefly with mention of the condition and availability of the records.

Book Reviews

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire 1810-1822. By Charles Carroll Griffin. New York, Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 315.

With wars raging in Spain and the Orient neutrality has become the bugbear of the chanceries of all nations. Any textbook of international law devotes a chapter to neutrality. The general principles are easily grasped, but the application of these principles to concrete situations is difficult and usually fraught with danger. In their perplexity, however, statesmen can thumb the pages of their nation's history for precedents to serve as guides, for, except the case of newborn governments, the history of any country will supply instances of neutrality legislation under conditions, similar if not identical, with those of today.

Almost at the beginning of our existence as a sovereign nation the Washington administration adopted the policy of neutrality in regard to conflicts carried on by European powers, and from that day to this our government has played the rôle of a neutral nation on many occasions. One such occasion was the "Era of Emancipation," 1820-1830, when various sections of South and Central America declared their independence of Spain, and after various vicissitudes maintained their new status.

That period was one of peculiar difficulty for the United States, because many forces and emotions found play. Since Spain had striven to keep our domain restricted to the Atlantic seaboard, and, failing in this, had done her best to check our expansion into the Mississippi Valley, public opinion here was anything but toward Spain. Florida and Texas, the western boundary of Louisiana, were questions on which the United States and Spain were wholly at variance. Spain's exclusion of other nations from commercial relations with her vast domain in the Americas aroused resentment in many quarters. Besides, there was a natural sympathy for people who seemed to be imitating our example in their quest for liberty and the right of self-government. On the one hand were our obligations, according to international law, towards another sovereign state with whom we were at peace; on the other was the knowledge that but for aid given us under similar circumstances we could not have thrown off the yoke of England. In time, however, the factional disputes among the rebels, the encouraging of desertion from United States merchant ships, the military despotism established in some places, the general non-existence of really democratic institutions, and the known monarchical leaning at Buenos Aires and elsewhere in Hispanic America weakened enthusiasm for the rebel cause, and in some cases gave birth to the belief that the people of Central and South America were unfitted to assume the responsibilities of self-government. Why substitute one tyranny for another, it was asked? Finally privateering, a centuries' old resort of the nations, raised endless difficulties, for though the rights of privateers were recognized, piracy was outlawed, and the difference between privateering and piracy was one of nomencla-

ture. Moreover, while some privateers of the rebel countries applied at our ports for the treatment usually accorded such vessels, other ships of the same countries began to prey on United States commerce when Spanish ships without armed escort almost vanished from the high seas.

Under these circumstances our officials in the State Department were put to the test. Some proved to have feet of clay, but John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state, made a good record. Adams believed that a peaceful solution of all the difficulties between the United States and Spain was possible, and preferable to war. Accordingly he worked along these lines, and his efforts bore fruit in the Adams-Onis Treaty. After protracted negotiation this treaty was drawn up, and ratified unanimously by the Senate within two days of its signing. But the end was not yet. For two years Spain withheld ratification, largely because it hurt her pride to surrender territory, and because of the schemes of Spanish speculators in Florida real estate. Though indignant over Spanish procrastination, President Monroe kept his head, and Adams, the special sponsor of the treaty, proved remarkably long-suffering. When others lost heart or were inclined to use force, he remained hopeful. Exactly two years after the treaty was signed in Washington Spain yielded when she found Castlereagh disinclined to underwrite her scheme of reconquest, and a decisive victory of the rebels in Columbia, the successful revolt of Iturbide in Mexico, Peru's declaration of independence, and the threatening breakup of the European front destroyed the last vestiges of hope of gain by delay.

By the terms of the treaty the government of the United States was left free to accord or withhold recognition of the new governments. Even so Adams, always a champion of legal form, would grant recognition only when they had definitely proved themselves to be 'de facto' governments. Spain could not consider such action an affront because it was in conformity with the practice of nations.

Through the maze of negotiation, proposal and counter-proposal, argument, propaganda, politics, and intrigue Dr. Griffin proves a good guide. At all times he is calm, objective, impartial. Content for the most part to let records speak for themselves, he is not afraid to praise or blame when he is warranted in doing so. Of necessity he relies chiefly on official documents and correspondence, but newspapers, periodicals, memoirs, and private letters are used; these undoubtedly shed light on this involved decade of our history, but how close are they to revealing the truth? The fourteen pages of closely printed pages in the bibliography attest the comprehensiveness of the research on which this volume is based. The student of diplomatic history, no less than the student of Spanish-American history, is indebted to Dr. Griffin for clarifying a hitherto obscure period.

CHARLES H. METZGER

The Colonial Agents of New York and New Jersey. By Edward P. Lilly. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1936. Pp. ix+237.

The study being reviewed was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America. It is decidedly a credit to the institution which sponsored it, and an asset to the literature of the colonial period. As the title indicates, the

scope is properly limited to the actions of the colonial agents of the New York and New Jersey colonies. The six chapters are devoted respectively to the colonial agency as an institution, the appointment of temporary agents, the appointment of permanent agents, the agent in action, the boundaries and the agent, and the agent's general activity. The necessity for the services of individuals who would be able to represent the colonies before the English authorities is very clearly set forth in the opening chapter. The entire background of the controversy relative to the precise powers and duties of the colonial agent is discussed. In summation, Dr. Lilly has concluded, "Despite all the material available, it is difficult to definitely state the attitude of the English authorities toward the colonial agency. That the institution was tolerated is an underestimate and yet the agency cannot be classified as an integral organ of British colonial administration. At best it was an extra-legal development which the provinces utilized for the presentation of the colonial aspirations and necessities before the English authorities. The latter officials accepted the institution, received the available information and regulated this system of representation for the general interests of the empire" (p. 27). The English made use of the colonial agent in ordering the administration of the colonies, but did not feel any obligation to grant the demands made by the agent. Many colonists realized that representation in the British parliament would be of little value to them, since they would be such a distinct minority group, and, at times, hoped that the colonial agent would be able to accomplish more than duly elected members of the British Parliament, drawn from the colonies.

The agent did represent a bond which might have gradually drawn the colonies and the mother country together. The fact that such a development did not take place was not altogether the fault of the colonies. The failure of the colonial agents to secure due consideration for the demands of the colonies was naturally one of the many factors which tended to make the war between the colonies and the mother country more or less inevitable.

The various chapters give ample attention to domestic developments in the colonies concerned, with the result that the activities of the agents are understandable. Documentation from source material serves to establish the soundness of the statements made and the positions taken. Much material that is essential for the completeness of the study, but which would interrupt the thread of the narrative, is placed in footnote citations. The richness of the documentation, and the paragraphs of the bibliographical essay, make very clear the thorough research completed during the preparation of the dissertation. Much more attention has been given to such matters as unity, coherence, clearness, and proportion in this study, than has been accorded to such matters in many dissertations. All points essential to the topic have been included, but there has been no discursive rambling into allied but unessential fields. A carefully prepared index contributes to the inherent worth of this scholarly study of a very important colonial development.

PAUL KINIERY

The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794. By Henry R. Wagner. The Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1937. Pp. 553. $10.

This annotated bibliography, put forth in the fine format adopted by

the Quivira Society for the preceding six volumes of its publications, contains one hundred and fourteen facsimile illustrations, title pages of famous books, and maps, a descriptive bibliography of twenty-four pages, and a full index of twenty-eight pages. The introduction explains the author's purpose in issuing this second edition of *The Spanish Southwest*. The bibliography contained in the two volumes pertains to the northern provinces of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which in late colonial times became the most independent *Provincias Internas*, and parts of which in republican times became sections of our Union, in other words, the southwestern borderlands. The titles of the books are listed chronologically, except where groupings were necessary because of multiple editions and translations. Use of the notes of José Toribio Medina are made judiciously, and in some instances corrections of statements found in the comprehensive work of the great bibliographer appear. Mr. Wagner's industry in compiling and describing books in this interesting and helpful manner deserves the highest commendation of bibliophiles and historians. What motive the Quivira Society has in publishing such limited editions (in this case 401 copies) is not clear to the reviewer, unless it is that plates are being conserved for less expensive editions.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Documents from Early Peru: The Pizarros and the Amalgros, 1531-1578. Edited and translated by Stella R. Clemence. The Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1936. pp. ix+253. $3.25.

Mr. Edward S. Harkness presented a fine collection of Spanish manuscripts to the Library of Congress in 1929. Miss Stella Clemence prepared a *Calendar* of these manuscripts, which was published in 1932. Her latest achievement is the present publication of some of the documents. There are forty-eight of these, all but two of which pertain to the years 1531 to 1545, admirably printed side by side with very good translations. Notes to the Spanish documents are with the text, while the enlightening historical notes to the translations appear at the end of the volume, followed by a quite sufficiently complete index.

The manuscripts undoubtedly are of great value by reason of their antiquity, the autographs of the conquerors, and the materials pertinent to the business transactions of the Pizarros and Amalgros. They are of more value in their present form because of the painstaking labor of Miss Clemence. But one would be rash in stating that all these materials are of great importance to scholars. They are statements of obligations for wages, transportation, freight, supplies, debts, grants of power of attorney to agents and managers, several instructions, releases, and grants of encomiendas, and two complaints of widows of conquerors regarding their losses of Indians. Some of the sources are more important than others—Gonzalo Pizarro's appointment to the governorship of Perú in 1544, and his instructions to Francisco de Carvajal, at the very time when he was working toward the destruction of the king's power in western South America. Interesting also are the legal documents pertaining to Pedro de Alvarado's sale of his armada to Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Amalgro at Quito, and the one of Fray Marcos de Niza, famed later as a forerunner

of the Coronado expedition, in which his newly established *custodia* in Quito is turned over to Amalgro in August, 1534. The publication in its entirety is of real value and adds color and substance to the narrative of the conquest of Perú.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Spanish Tales from New Mexico. By José Manuel Espinosa. New York, American Folk-Lore Society, 1937. pp. xix+222.

The folktales of a people are an index to their view of life, their traditional mentality, their soul. The thoughts they muse upon in quiet hours, exchange around the evening fireside, and pass on from mouth to mouth and from one generation to another are more a part of their lives than the external features which attract the attention of the tourist historian. Dr. Espinosa has constituted himself the faithful chronicler of these delightful tales for five counties in north and central New Mexico.

One hundred and fourteen stories, classified as magic, religious, picaresque, romantic, animal, and short anecdotes, make up a volume that has all the flavor and color of a culture transplanted from Old Spain and enduring over three centuries on American soil. In all, forty-three narrators ranging in age from twelve to one hundred years told the stories they could recall, while the compiler wrote them down in as near an approximation as possible to peculiar variations of grammar and pronunciation. The compiler undertook his work well equipped by his personal training and linguistic background. The introduction, bibliography, summaries and bibliographical notes in English, and a glossary leave nothing to desire in the way of scholarship.

The origin of most of the tales is found in Old Castile and Northern Spain. Other sections of Spain have also contributed. Indian influence is all but negligible. The reader who is interested in the long traditions of our Southwest is brought close to the intimate life of a people whose character seems to be changing rapidly.

R. CORRIGAN

And Then the Storm. By Sister M. Monica. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1937. Pp. vii+231. $2.50.

The title of this very worthwhile little book should by all reason read: "I Visit and Study in Spain," for it is an authentic account of the doings and opinions of a mature person who has just recently returned from a long sojourn in the centers of research in Spain. And the value of the book is in its portrayal of contemporary Spanish society as met in going to and from the archives. As a prelude to revolution or a study of the current revolution, this work gives only a political skeleton; nor is it meant to give more, for the author deliberately and wisely refrains from partisanship and maintains throughout a becoming historical objectivity.

One may be surprised to read of a nun, an Ursuline Sister, engaged in the multiple contacts with such a world as she depicts, but this surprise will not survive an acquaintance with Sister Monica and her influence on a not small circle of feminine scholars and thinkers. Yet a reading of the book will do more to make this point than would a wordy eulogy. Her qualifications need not be stated beyond the fact of her scholarly standing

and her four years of research lately spent in southern Europe, one in Rome and three in Spain where generous providence enabled her to complete her findings on the important fifth viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo.

The story is the search for complete knowledge and documentation on this great member of the Toledo family. The authoress takes us for a personal tour of the famous archives, the Nacional in Madrid, that of the Indies in Seville, Simancas at Valladolid, and the lesser deposits connected with the smaller cities and the personal holdings of several families of distinction. In this, her work will offer a splendid guide to younger students, assisting them to work in the same archives as well as opening their minds to the possibilities lying hidden in the tremendous sources of old Spain.

In the unique circles where this nun is sheltered, and entertained, and introduced to all sides of Spanish life, there is a large cross-section of society in the peninsula. It is the type of cross-section obtained from a story told in the first person, replete with dialogue and personal narrative, free from speculation and learned essay on the profundities of sociology, but full of the concrete reality that underlies that sociology.

There are a few minor faults in typography in the latter third of the book. There is no fault in taste, nor in elegance of style that makes the volume a delightful pilgrimage through the seats of historical treasures. And readers will wait with eagerness for the appearance of her account of the great viceroy who did so much to build the colonial system of Spain in America.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Monseigneur de Laubérivière. By Comte de Quinsonas. Paris, 1936. Pp. xvii+205.

This interesting biography of François-Louis Pourroy de Laubérivière, fifth Bishop of Quebec, was written by one of his great-grandnephews. The first Bishop was the renowned François de Laval, who was succeeded by Jean de Saint-Vallier. But the Church in New France was unfortunate with the following three appointees to the episcopal see. De Mornay, a Capuchin, the third Bishop of Quebec, "seemed as much attached to his diocese as he was determined never to go there," and it is known that his inclination to remain in France ultimately prevailed over the other sentiment, for he resigned rather than depart for his see. The fourth Bishop of Quebec, Dosquet, made the trip to Canada, stayed fifteen months, and then returned to France, where, because he refused to go back to his see, the government officials in Paris forced him to resign.

Monseigneur de Laubérivière was born in 1711 and was consecrated bishop at the age of twenty-eight years. With youth and zeal urging him, he had no inhibitions with regard to New France, rather he viewed his see as an opportunity for apostolic labor. Shortly after his consecration he embarked for Canada on the *Rubis*. The ship had sailed past Newfoundland, when an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out among passengers and crew. For more than a month the disease raged; a score of people died at sea, and more than one hundred were stricken when the *Rubis* finally reached Quebec. The bishop refused to leave the ship until August 8, because he was "persuaded that his duty was to remain where danger was." Four

days later he became ill, and twelve days after he had landed he was dead, a victim of his devotion to duty, a martyr of charity. What the rule of this type of prelate would have been must necessarily remain in the realm of conjecture, but several traits of his character augured well for a bright future. His contemporaries knew the youthful bishop as a humble, laborious priest, totally without human ambition for preferment, as seeking to do good and even willing to do everything in his power to conciliate all.

The author has brought about a happy blending of the findings of Canadian historians, and has made use of public documents for the period and of private papers from the archives of Mérieu. The latter materials, to quote His Eminence Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart, who wrote the preface, "are precisely what constitutes the charm and the value" of this biography. Among the private documents cited are thirty-three letters of de Laubérivière, written before his consecration to his father and mother. Other documents in the archives of Mérieu Castle are reproduced in full in the appendix as *pièces justificatives*.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

The Church Founders of the Northwest: Loras, Cretin and Other Captains of Christ. By M. M. Hoffman. Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xii+387. $3.

Organized Catholicism in the United States may be an imposing thing to look upon today, but it ought to be a part of the education of every Catholic to be brought to realize the tremendous price that was paid for it. It is the merit of the volume under review that this price, in the way of tireless energy and zeal and almost incredible physical hardships on the part of clerical pioneers and of generous co-operation on the part of the laity, is set before the reader with a vividness of detail that one will hardly find paralleled in any other account of similar scope. Also, one comes to learn here the part which European economic aid played in setting nascent American Catholicism on its feet. The abundant subsidies that flowed into Iowa and Minnesota in frontier days from the three great missionary aid societies of Lyons, Vienna, and Munich made possible the building in those commonwealths of churches and schools which could not have been built with the aid alone of the poverty-stricken diocesans of the day.

The story here told of Catholic beginnings in the Northwest gathers in the main around two ecclesiastical figures of compelling interest, Mathias Loras and Joseph Cretin, first bishops respectively of Dubuque and St. Paul. The historic contribution made by France to the upbuilding of the Church in America is nowhere exemplified with greater emphasis than in the careers of these two admirable prelates. Loras, of aristocratic stock, lost his father in the guillotining madness that swept over France in the days of the Terror. Cretin, of bourgeois origin, first exercised the ministry as vicar and later as pastor of Fernay, the Swiss hamlet that was for long the home of Voltaire and the active center of his vicious propaganda. Drawn by providential turns to the trans-Mississippi West, they there gave themselves, with a devotion that was as single-minded as it was heroic, to the apostolic tasks clamoring on every side to be discharged. What they endured, and that with never-failing equanimity and patience, in bodily want and privation of every sort, whether in meager food or wretched

housing or painful journeyings, as they went about on their ministerial rounds, is testimony, if any was needed, to the liveliness of faith and fullness of charity that inspired their memorable activities. Nor are their names the only ones of appeal that enter into the story. Associated with them in their great apostolate were priestly laborers the persistent memory of whom spells missionary zeal and enterprise at their best, among them, Mazzuchelli, Galtier, Ravoux, Belcourt.

It is the recital of the activities in the ministry of prelates and priests of so splendid a type that Father Hoffman has undertaken in this scholarly and well-written volume. The documentation is of a high order. A considerable quantity of unpublished correspondence and other documentary material, chiefly from the archdiocesan archives of Dubuque, has been put to account. Personalities and issues are dealt with honestly and critically and there is no tendency to drop into empty and meaningless panegyric. Sir Sidney Lee thought the essence of biography to be in the "truthful transmission of personality." Surely the personalities of Loras and Cretin are brought before us in these pages with effective realism.

As might be expected in view of the great amount of archival material the author was privileged to utilize, new and revealing light is thrown by him on numerous corners in the pioneer ecclesiastical history of the Northwest. The rather enigmatic relations between Bishop Loras and the Dominican, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, the friction that developed between the ardent prelate and many of his clergy, the opposition he had to contend with from certain groups among the laity,—all is told with candor and adherence to the facts. One remarkable circumstance to the credit of Loras is told with convincing detail (p. 352 *et seq.*). He was, it would appear, the originator of the idea of attracting the newly arriving Catholic immigrants from Europe to the prairie states of the Northwest, an idea which unfortunately was discouraged in the East to the no small permanent injury to the Church beyond the Mississippi.

All in all, Father Hoffman has made a notable contribution to the written history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The book will be read for the wealth of information and edification, not to say sheer enjoyment, to be found within its covers.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

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